

## Outlook for East Europeans: Years of Hardship and Risk

Rebuilding Likely to Bring Soup Kitchens and Beggars

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Service

BERLIN — After forcing the collapse of four decades of Communist rule in a span of weeks, the people of Eastern Europe must now look forward to long years of hardship and risk as they seek to remake their countries.

The tumultuous pace of change in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and even Bulgaria evokes the similarities sweeping upheavals and transformations Eastern Europe experienced after 1945, 1918 and 1945, and there are expectations that the region will soon reconstitute itself along the lines of Western Europe, redrawing the world's economic map and pattern of alliances.

Yet, while an inspiring spectacle of democratic elections and constitutional conventions may take center stage in the former East bloc in the coming year, the process of rebuilding is likely to extend through a decade or more, deeply taxing the forbearance of Eastern Europe's already hard-pressed populations and raising dangers of destabilization that politicians have barely begun to imagine.

As they contemplate this future, East Europeans may be reminded less of the images of champagne corks popping around a crumbling Berlin Wall than of the soup kitchens and beggars that have begun to appear in Warsaw, or the stinging clouds of brown coal dust that hang over Leipzig's disheveled streets on these gray wintry days.

What the East is facing, say its politicians and economists, is the beginning of a crisis of transition equal to the one it faced 45 years

ago when Communist rule began.

"People basically have to go back to 1945 and start over again — to go through that whole process of rebuilding and hardship again," Barbel Bohley, an East German opposition leader, said recently. "They have to have the same faith they had in 1945, and that's a lot to ask."

Even if political change pro-

### NEWS ANALYSIS

ceeds quickly, three fundamental challenges will increase the time and cost of transition:

• The Challenge of Investment. In the next decade, East European countries will have to invest hundreds of billions of dollars to clean up and rebuild their countries. Roads, telephone networks, urban centers, health facilities and other basic props of the infrastructure have fallen to ruin or been badly neglected under Communist rule, and a huge effort will be needed to raise them to a standard that will permit overall economic modernization.

Poland, for example, has a shortage of more than a million apartments, and Hungary has one-sixth as many telephones per capita as the United States.

• The Challenge of Restructuring. As they dismantle the pervasive and intricate Stalinist economic system, encouraging a new private sector and seek out Western investment, East European governments must plunge their societies into a whirlwind of dislocation in which high inflation, high unemployment and the emergence of sharp social and economic inequalities will be painful but inevitable features.

This process, already well un-

der way in Poland and Hungary, will invite the emergence of radical political movements or even new popular uprisings if it is not carefully managed. Moreover, even under the most ambitious direction, economic restructuring will take years to implement. Some East German economists expect that currency reform alone will take 10 to 15 years in their country. And until the transition to a market economy is complete, East European countries probably cannot hope for political stability or full economic integration with the West.

• The Challenge of Identity. As they shake off the alien Soviet Communist system, East European countries will have to come to grips with issues of national identity, geopolitical alignment and historical direction that in some cases date back centuries.

They must debate whether to retain some distinctively socialist character in their political and economic systems or to adopt the mechanisms offered by Western Europe. They must resolve sometimes troubled relationships with each other retarded by 40 years of artificial Soviet bloc comradery. They must work out new relationships both with the Soviet Union and with West Germany, the emerging superpower in Europe.

For most of Eastern Europe, whose present form dates back no further than 1918, such questions of identity are also existential. East Germany must decide whether to remain a state separate from West Germany, and Hungary may consider some form of realignment with Austria. Poland, wiped off the map

See EAST, Page 3



Mikhail S. Gorbachev and President Francesco Cossiga of Italy, left, reviewing troops Wednesday in Rome. The Soviet leader was beginning a three-day visit before the weekend meeting off Malta.

## Legislators Vote By 309-0 to End Power of Czech Communists

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PRAGUE — The Czechoslovak parliament stripped the Communist Party on Wednesday of its 40-year-old guaranteed monopoly on power in a frantic effort to satisfy the demands of the growing democracy movement. A senior party official promised free elections, possibly within 12 months.

Voting with the mechanical gestures born of decades of automatic approval of Communist-proposed measures, the 309 deputies present unanimously scrapped Article 4 of the constitution, which mandated the leading role of the Communist Party. They also deleted a clause that bases all education on Marxism-Leninism.

The revolution is proceeding much quicker than we expected, said Jiri Dienstbier, spokesman for the Civic Forum opposition, minutes after the vote was broadcast live on national television.

Leaders of Civic Forum, including the playwright, Vaclav Havel, broke into triumphant applause on learning of the result during a meeting in Bratislava.

The vote was a foregone conclusion after the new party chief, Karel Urbanek, announced Tuesday that the Communists had no choice but to give up their dominance and to prove the party was democratic.

Vasil Mohorita, a Politburo member, said before the session that free and democratic elections would be held, on a date yet to be determined.

The changes were among concessions the opposition won from the Communist government on Tuesday when Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec also promised to form a new government, including non-Communists, by Sunday.

The changes followed 11 straight days of huge anti-government demonstrations, which culminated in a two-hour nationwide strike on Monday in which millions of workers participated.

Mr. Adamec went on national television and said he had asked

Civic Forum for its suggestions on who to include in the new government. He also said he would negotiate a reassessment of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion that crushed the "Prague Spring" liberalizations.

Civic Forum proposed that the new defense minister be a civilian Communist, and that the interior minister, who controls the police, be a civilian non-Communist, Mr. Dienstbier said.

Parliament also eliminated the Communists' leading position in the National Front, an organization embracing all political parties and social groups allowed in Czechoslovakia.

Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik, in an address to the assembly, said the army stood behind Mr. Urbanek. He denied speculation that the army had planned a coup to prevent the loss of party power.

Debate in the chamber, adorned with the words "All power in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic belongs to the working people," consisted largely of eulogistic speeches and recrimination from those who said they had warned long ago of a crisis.

"We betrayed the trust of our constituents," said a member of the small Socialist Party, Blanka Hlavova. "Nothing we do today can alter that." The session was broadcast live on television, in its entirety, for the first time. The Socialist Party had been allied with the Communists.

Anton Blazek, a Communist member, said, "It was our incorrect interpretation of socialism, our incorrect understanding of the party's leading role, that created the conditions for the rise of a political opposition."

Praising the role of students in the 11-day wave of protests that forced out most of the Communist leadership, another member, Jana Pekarova, said: "I am ashamed that our generation did not do it ourselves."

Milos Jakes, forced out Friday as party leader, vowed for abolishing

See PRAGUE, Page 3

## Shevardnadze Rejects Kohl's Unification Plan

ROME — The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, vehemently rejected German reunification Wednesday.

He told the Italian foreign minister, Gianni De Michelis, during talks in Rome that the reality of the postwar division of Germany must be respected, according to a Soviet spokesman, Gennadi I. Gerasimov. Mr. Gerasimov quoted Mr. Shevardnadze as saying that the building of a "common European house" was a long and gradual process. He added that "realities had to be respected."

"One is that Europe is divided into two military alliances, NATO

and the Warsaw Pact," he said. "The second is that frontiers stand as confirmed in Helsinki; and the third is that there are two Germanys."

Mr. Gerasimov said the Soviet foreign minister, who is accompanying President Mikhail S. Gorbachev on a three-day visit to Italy, had told Mr. De Michelis of his fears of a "possible rise of German revanchism."

But he said the issue had not come up in talks between Mr. Gorbachev and Italian leaders.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Yuri Gerasimovich, speaking earlier in Moscow, condemned the 10-point plan an-

nounced by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany this week for an eventual federation of East and West Germany.

He accused Mr. Kohl of meddling in East German affairs and trying to stir nationalism there.

Mr. Gerasimov said there was a need for an 11th point in the plan: that Bonn formally renounce a 1972 West German Supreme Court judgment that Germany's 1937 borders were still valid.

Those borders would include part of what is modern-day Poland and the Soviet Union.

"If there were an 11th point, we might reconsider our position,"

Mr. Gerasimov said. "But that point has not been added."

Mr. Gerasimov said earlier that Moscow could only imagine German reunification as part of a much larger process — "overcoming the division of Europe" — presumably with NATO and the Warsaw Pact dissolved and foreign troops removed.

Until that was accomplished, the Soviet Union as well as many other countries in Europe were not interested in changing post-World War II borders, he said.

"We would like to hope that Bonn will outlive its sense of realism," Mr. Gerasimov said. "One should not forget," he said,

"that there are dozens of other states in Europe which are intensely interested in preserving stability but not in the destruction of territorial political structures, with all resulting dangerous consequences for the peaceful future of European peoples."

In Bonn, a senior aide to Chancellor Helmut Kohl said he was not surprised at the Soviet reaction.

"As soon as we talk about unity, we get criticized," said Horst Teltschik, a foreign policy adviser.

But Mr. Teltschik said he expected a more measured response over time from East Germany and the

See SOVIET, Page 3

## Why Gandhi Lost: Little Sympathy for Rootless Man

By Barbara Crossette

New York Times Service

NEW DELHI — When Rajiv Gandhi went to the president on Wednesday morning to resign as prime minister, he was in almost every sense a man alone. The defeat of the grandson of Jawaharlal Nehru was a personal defeat.

Indians find many ways to explain how Mr. Gandhi came to lose the largest parliamentary majority in the country's history, but there is almost no debate about why. The job was too big for him and he was never able to assemble a credible team to carry out his promises to rid India of political corruption.

Educated in part abroad and married to an Italian, Mr. Gandhi surrounded himself with cosmopolitan technocrats, public relations advisers and friends who boasted of having no regional Indian roots.

In a country where a sense of place is powerful, there was no village Mr. Gandhi could call home. "His vision of society was an extremely alien model," said Rajni Kothari, a social scientist and Gandhi critic. "It was not politically thought through."

"Rajiv Gandhi chose people wrongly," said Ashish Nandy of Delhi's Center for the Study of De-



Rajiv Gandhi at a party meeting on Wednesday, before submitting his resignation as prime minister.

veloping Societies. "His advisers were glib, yuppie, whiskey guys. He could have used his friends, but not for making fundamental political decisions."

The newly elected members of parliament of the National Front, the five-party alliance that deprived Mr. Gandhi of a decisive majority, planned to meet Friday

to pick the man they hope will replace him. The meeting had been scheduled for Wednesday but was rescheduled for Thursday and then Friday amid reported disagreements over who should be nominated.

There is remarkably little sympathy for Mr. Gandhi in defeat. Although he kept his parliament-

ary seat in voting on Nov. 22, that small victory was discredited by the violence and vote rigging, some of it by pliant policemen, in his constituency of Amethi. As opposition leader, he will be under pressure to burnish his image and the fortunes of the Congress (I) Party, or end his political career.

But if the second eclipse of the

Nehru dynasty is 12 years stemmed from Mr. Gandhi's shortcomings, the so-far smooth transition to a new government from a Parliament without a majority owes much to the strength of Indian democracy.

"Democracy suits the Indian character well," a Middle Eastern diplomat said Wednesday. "They chose it at independence over 42 years ago and they will stick with it."

In the election's final hours, when the unassuming specter of a hung Parliament appeared, India's democratic institutions held.

An election commission that Mr. Gandhi had tried to pack dangled a few days but ultimately ruled against him in Amethi, turning down Congress Party pleas not to order new balloting.

The commission was presided by President Ramaswamy Venkataraman, who also acted decisively in dissolving Parliament as soon as the voting pattern was clear.

Ignoring suggestions that he could ask the Congress Party to form another government because it holds a legislative plurality, Mr. Venkataraman seemed ready to ask its rivals to form a government. Across the spectrum, political lead-

See GANDHI, Page 2

## Gorbachev Proposes Naval Force Talks

ROME — Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet president, on Wednesday proposed talks with the United States and Italy about the superpower naval presence in the Mediterranean and criticized the West for refusing to discuss naval disarmament.

Mr. Gorbachev, who arrived earlier on a three-day visit to Italy, said at a state dinner given by the Italian president, Francesco Cossiga, that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's failure to consider cutting naval forces could jeopardize other arms control achievements.

He suggested consultations with Italy, the United States and possibly within the United Nations Security Council on whether Soviet and U.S. warships should remain permanently stationed in the Mediterranean.

"During the Cold War, some justification could be found for it," Mr. Gorbachev said. "Now the situation has changed."

"In the light of the negotiations under way on other types of arms," he added, "the lack of desire by the U.S. and NATO to begin negotiations on this problem cannot fail to arouse concern. This can put in doubt, even in danger, much of what has been achieved in recent times."

NATO has resisted Soviet attempts to add naval arms control to the East-West talks in Vienna on cutting conventional forces in Europe. The Western alliance says this is because it is heavily dependent on sea power.

U.S. officials said this week that Moscow had reduced its nuclear forces in the Mediterranean for the weekend summit meeting off Malta, and they speculated that Mr. Gorbachev could propose a naval arms control initiative to President George Bush.

Mr. Gorbachev said the proposed naval consultations could form part of the buildup to a 35-nation conference on Mediterranean issues next year in Spain.

Another measure could be contacts between the European Community and the Communist trading bloc, Comecon, on the region's economic problems, he suggested.

Mr. Gorbachev referred only in general terms to the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, and said they should be accompanied by changes in the West in order to lead to a new era of peace.

"Do not be late, gentlemen, with perestroika toward the socialist world," he urged, referring to his restructuring program.

"The Cold War has ended, or is ending, not because there are victors and vanquished, but because there are neither," he said.

He said that NATO and the Warsaw Pact, whose military forces have confronted each other for more than three decades, needed to be transformed into "tools of cooperation."

Mr. Gorbachev said that despite the difficulties caused for the Soviet Union by perestroika, most of his countrymen supported it.

But, he added: "The next two or

See GORBACHEV, Page 2

## Craze for the Past Turns a Profit Again

By Randall Rothenberg

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Yesterday, when all our troubles seemed so far away, is the latest craze in the communications and consumer products industries.

In their latest attempt to cater to the post-war baby boom, the world's largest-ever generation of consumers, numerous publishers and packaged-goods manufacturers now believe that nostalgia — the way it was — is the way it is.

For the first time in decades, pop-culture Life Savers have appeared on candy store shelves and Clairol advertisements are asking, "Does she or doesn't she?" (As ever, she does — color her hair.)

Newstands, too, promise to be crowded with magazines that deal with the past or

small-town America or traditional values and have been introduced or planned in the last year by such companies as Hachette SA and Time Warner Inc.

"Nostalgia waxes and wanes, and it's certainly waxing now, as the baby-boom generation passes into phases of life that create conditions that can elicit nostalgic responses," said Fred Davis, a professor at the University of California at San Diego and the author of "Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia."

He and other academics say that marriage, parenthood and the leveling off of careers in the late 30s and 40s are typically followed by an unsettled period in people's lives when they look back to childhood for comfort.

By definition, of course, there is nothing new about nostalgia.

The word was coined in 1600 by a Swiss physician to describe a homesickness among soldiers so powerful that it was thought to be a disease. In his 1973 book "The Country and the City," Raymond Williams, the late Marxist cultural historian, showed that as far back as the 17th century writers were bemoaning the loss of the countryside and the rural life.

As a marketing device, too, nostalgia is cyclical, as the mid-1970s revivals of Liberty and the Saturday Evening Post magazines demonstrate.

What distinguishes nostalgia's new wave is both its pervasiveness and its being as much a media creation as a marketing opportunity. Earlier generations might have felt pangs of nostalgia from places in their lives. The

See NOSTALGIA, Page 2

## U.S. Is Primed for Digital TV

By William J. Broad

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Despite a slow start by the United States in the race to make television sets with razor-sharp pictures, a growing number of scientists and engineers say there is hope for a comeback.

Some even believe conditions are ripe for the United States to vault over the international competition in a field seen as vital to economic success in the 1990s and beyond.

"We've got a tremendous opportunity to leapfrog limited technology and really develop a television of the future," said W. Russell Neuman, director of communications research at the media labora-

tory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dimitris Anastassiou, a professor of electrical engineering at Columbia University who recently helped organize a technical symposium on high-definition television, agreed. "It would be a big mistake to write off the field," he said.

Experts say the main reason for hope is that the Japanese and Europeans, with an early lead, may be locked into a technology that could become antiquated. That technology is based on analog signals, which mimic the scenes and sounds observed by a camera and render these as continuous electronic waves.

The future of television, these experts say, increasingly lies in the direction of digital processing, which is the same technique used in computers. Digital signals turn the complexity of the real world into a code based on the numbers 0 and 1, or, in electrical terms, plus and minus. The code can be manipulated to process or transmit volumes of information with great accuracy.

"We have a hope because this country is so good in computers," said Arun N. Netravali, director of the computing systems research laboratory at the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.'s Bell Laboratories.

Pessimists say the race is already

See TV, Page 7

### Kiosk

#### Comaneci Flees To Hungary

BUDAPEST (AP) — Nadia Comaneci, the Romanian who was the first Olympian to be awarded a perfect score in gymnastics, in the 1976 Games, has defected to Hungary, the Interior Ministry reported Wednesday.

Miss Comaneci, 28, and six other Romanians crossed the border in a car, then she disappeared after checking out of a hotel in the city of Szeged, the Hungarian news agency MTI reported. (Page 19)



Nadia Comaneci in 1980.

### General News

Hong Kong's legislature backed the expulsion of Vietnamese refugees. Page 6.

Japan and Taiwan intend to ignore a South Pacific ban on drift-net fishing. Page 6.

General Awan won support from a Christian militia as civilians fled Beirut. Page 8.

The United States is near an impasse on its Middle East peace effort. Page 8.

### Business/Finance

U.S. growth in the third quarter was revised up to a 2.7 percent rate. Page 11.

Crossword Page 7.

Weather Page 2.

Dow Jones	The Dollar
2,688.76	in New York
Down	1.788
13.23	Pound 1.5875
	Yen 142.80
	FF 6.0955



# U.S. Cuts Estimate of Soviet Potential for Attack in Europe

By Patrick E. Tyler  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The U.S. intelligence community, in a fundamental reassessment of the military balance in Europe, has concluded that for the past several years the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies have been incapable of quickly launching a major attack against the West, a conclusion that undermines the assumptions behind existing NATO strategy and military deployments.

The finding is contained in a classified, 30-page study for the secretary of defense, completed before political changes swept through Eastern Europe. Officials said that upheaval had further reduced the danger of an attack against NATO from the East.

The study depicted as outdated two scenarios for war in Europe that drove the West to keep its forces at a high level of readiness over the past decade: a Soviet invasion with little advance preparation, and a Soviet attack after two weeks of mobilization.

In the most likely circumstances for a Soviet attack, the study reported, the United States would have "some 33 to 44 days of warning time."

This is a consensus judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency, the report said. In some cases, the West might know as far as six months in advance of a major war, the study stated.

The old assumptions about the need to respond within 10 to 14 days to a surprise Soviet attack led to huge investments in airlift capability and other forms of mobility, forward positioning of ammunition and supplies, and more. The new study called into question the need for such expenditures.

The conclusions appear to have been accepted by Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who now speaks frequently about cost savings engendered by troop reductions in Europe and less expensive schemes to reinforce the armies of the European allies, should the need arise.

The study was completed months before the beginning of the political upheavals that are now dislodging Communists from power in Eastern Europe. It did not predict such a series of citizen uprisings, but warned that political and economic developments in Eastern Europe "hold the greatest potential for igniting a U.S.-Soviet confrontation."

The study includes these findings and observations:

• As of late last year, Soviet military forces were in a very low state of mobilization, with half of their divisions at home manned at 5 to 25 percent of wartime strength and the rest at levels ranging from 50 to 75 percent. A full Soviet and Warsaw Pact mobilization for war would require the dispatch of 150,000 Soviet troops to Europe to round out undermanned units and the call up of 800,000 Warsaw Pact reservists, the study said.

• New U.S. "imaging" satellites, "which provide usable photography within hours of a targeted event on the ground," and

other improvements in intelligence collection over the past decade have made it possible for the CIA to inform the president "within 24 hours" of any significant Soviet military mobilization steps.

• The study does not rule out the possibility of a "short warning" attack against Western Europe in which the CIA could warn the president to more than 13 days in advance. But such an attack would be "quite risky" for the Soviet Union, the study concluded, because it would not provide for full mobilization of their "second echelon" forces, and without these forces fully trained for battle behind the first wave of attackers, Soviet planners fear "they could face loss of momentum by the time the French border was reached."

As a result, "there is wide agreement within the U.S. intelligence community that the Soviet forces in Eastern Europe are not now postured for a 'standing-start' or short-warning attack against NATO."

Under a more plausible scenario, in which "the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact

allies took several weeks to bring their forces to their full combat potential — a force more consistent with what they believe is necessary to defeat NATO — the intelligence community believes we would have some 33 to 44 days of warning time prior to a major, sustained attack against Western Europe," the study said.

• The United States should be prepared to show its military resolve during a crisis by "expanding U.S. combat capabilities in the U.S.," the study stated, and by requisitioning ships and redeploying equipment, but not troops.

It warned that movements of U.S. forces to Europe in a crisis would be interpreted in Moscow as a sign that war was imminent, possibly inviting a pre-emptive attack. It suggests the allies particularly avoid "activating the NATO Alert System," which calls for heightened military preparations throughout Europe and which "would be more likely to provoke a major Soviet response than actions by several European allies unilaterally."

## After Vienna Pact, What Comes Next?

By Michael R. Gordon  
New York Times Service

BRUSSELS — Western defense ministers ended two days of meetings here Wednesday without a common vision of where NATO should go in cutting conventional arms.

A communiqué issued at the end of the meeting hailed the emerging agreement in Vienna on cutting conventional arms as a pact that "would substantially improve the balance of forces in Europe."

But there was disagreement about what should come after that accord, which the West hopes to complete next year.

On one end of the spectrum was Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who has budgetary pressures on his mind. Mr. Cheney has suggested that the United States would like to move quickly to achieve additional U.S. and Soviet troop cuts after an initial pact reducing conventional forces in Europe is completed.

At a news conference Wednesday, Mr. Cheney acknowledged that the United States was considering additional troop cuts in its forces in Europe.

"It is conceivable that long-term the U.S. may want to consider additional changes in those deployments," he said, referring to U.S. troops in Europe.

Mr. Cheney also left open the possibility that additional cuts might be carried out as part of a process in which the Russians would withdraw troops from East European nations and the United States would reciprocate by taking troops out of West Europe, after consulting with its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Such a procedure could speed up the cuts, since it would dispense

with the need for negotiating a second conventional arms treaty.

At the other end of the spectrum are the British, who are counseling a pause after an initial conventional arms agreement. The West, the British say, needs to refrain from making sweeping military changes at a time when there are fast-paced events in Eastern Europe.

The British concern is that the changes in Eastern Europe may lead to a balkanization of states there, including increased tensions between East European states, creating serious instability. The risk of instability outweighs the gains of greater troop cuts, the British say.

The British defense secretary, Tom King, has made these sorts of arguments in closed meetings, and he got his point across in a press conference Tuesday in which he emphasized that the alliance's energy should be directed toward achieving an initial conventional arms agreement, not additional cuts that might follow.

Mr. King stressed the many difficulties in implementing an initial agreement, such as the need to destroy large amounts of equipment, and he studiously avoided any mention of CFE-2, NATO jargon for a conventional arms agreement that might follow an initial East-West pact cutting conventional forces.

A senior NATO official said that the American and British positions represented two distinct camps within the alliance about how to proceed on conventional arms control.

He asserted that West Germany's position was closer to that of the United States than that of Britain. But at the Brussels meeting Bonn appeared to be more cautious



Defense Secretary Dick Cheney after NATO talks Wednesday.

than the United States about how to proceed, at least when the German position was presented by Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Mr. Stoltenberg, for example, was said to have cautioned against making public statements to Moscow to withdraw all of its forces from Eastern Europe. Such comments, he reportedly said in a closed meeting, might build public pressure in Western Europe for the parallel withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

In recent days, Mr. Cheney has said that complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe is an ultimate U.S. goal. If such a withdrawal took place, Mr. Cheney

## Kohl Seeks Support For Unity Proposal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BONN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl mounted an international campaign Wednesday seeking support for his plan for German reunification. He talked with a high-ranking Soviet official and telephoned President George Bush.

Mr. Kohl's proposal, presented Tuesday to the West German parliament, is a step-by-step formula for reuniting the German states. It calls for the election of a "legitimate, democratic government" in East Germany, after which the two countries would enter into a confederation with close economic and technical ties as a step toward full unification.

Apparently seeking to win over the Soviets to his cause, Mr. Kohl met for an hour Wednesday with the acting Soviet deputy prime minister, Ivan S. Silaev. Government spokesmen declined to reveal what was discussed.

The chancellor also talked with Mr. Bush by telephone about his plan. The White House spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, said he had no details of the conversation but added: "We note that Chancellor Kohl is responding to the deepest aspirations of his people. This is a goal that we and the Federal Republic of Germany have long held in terms of German unity."

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said the U.S. position on German reunification "should essentially embrace four principles. They are:

• The people of East and West Germany should decide for themselves whether they want unity and what form it should take.

• A reunified Germany should be a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Community.

Any steps toward reunification should be "peaceful, gradual and part of a step-by-step process" to preserve European stability.

• Any change of borders in Europe should be made according to the 1975 Helsinki accords, which specify that frontiers can be changed only peacefully.

On Wednesday, France gave its cautious welcome to the Kohl proposal. "I hope West Germany will confound skeptics by showing there is no question of choosing between the European Community and East Germany," Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told the French parliament.

In The Hague, Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers said, "I don't want to give the impression that we're regarding this with a kind of fear." He was referring to renewed German political and military domination in Europe. (UPI, Reuters, AP)

■ Cool Response in Berlin

David Binder of The New York Times reported from Berlin:

The Communist leadership of East Germany reacted coolly on Wednesday to Chancellor Kohl's proposal. But it did not reject the plan out of hand.

Expressing their reactions to the Kohl proposals indirectly Wednesday, Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Egon Krenz, the Communist Party chief, signed an appeal drafted by East German writers, physicians and prelates, called "For Our Country."

The brief text of the appeal says: "Either we can insist on the individuality of the German Democratic Republic or we will have to tolerate that the German Democratic Republic will be annexed by the Federal Republic of Germany."

## GORBACHEV: Soviet Leader Urges Talks on Navies in Mediterranean

(Continued from page 1)

three years will determine the future fate of the country."

Perestroika was bound to cause destabilization, he added, but "represents the denial of the stability of the past, the same that has led us into a blind alley and which we have to destroy because it slows the development of society."

■ A 'Frank' Assessment

Michael Dobbs of The Washington Post reported earlier: Mr. Gorbachev will use the summit meeting to provide Mr. Bush with a "very frank" assessment of Soviet domestic problems and try to commit the U.S. administration to rapid progress on nuclear and conventional disarmament, according to Soviet officials.

The officials, who have been involved in planning the Dec. 2 and 3 meeting, said they did not expect any "grand unilateral gestures"

from the Soviet leader. But they hinted at the possibility of the Soviet Union announcing the withdrawal of some of its nuclear-capable warships from the Mediterranean along with a proposal for declaring a nuclear-free zone in the region.

The account of Soviet expectations for the meeting emerged as Mr. Gorbachev arrived for a visit that will include a historic meeting Friday with the pope.

A Soviet official in Rome for the visit said the Soviet leader probably would call for further cuts in conventional forces in Europe in private discussions with Mr. Bush and Italian leaders.

The official said Mr. Gorbachev was almost "bound" to address the issue of German reunification in a speech Thursday night in Rome. The Soviet leader is likely to insist that reunification be considered only within an all-European political

process that would involve the creation of a new security system to replace the present system of rival military alliances.

Soviet policymakers are eager to emphasize to Washington the importance of not exploiting the rapidly changing geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe by declaring the ideological victory of capitalism over communism.

■ Bush to Stress Change

Don Oberdorfer of The Washington Post reported from Washington: When he meets with Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Bush will place a high priority on advocating continued

peaceful change in Eastern Europe, unhampered by the threat of forcible intervention from outside. Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said Wednesday.

Briefing reporters at the White House before Mr. Bush's departure on Thursday for Malta, Mr. Baker listed the political events of Eastern Europe as the first of five subjects Mr. Bush hopes to address with Mr. Gorbachev.

"The aspirations, needs and rights of the peoples of Eastern Europe have long been neglected, neglected and rejected by their governments," he said.

## NOSTALGIA: A Wow, and How

(Continued from page 1)

baby-boom generation's mobility has left it relatively free of such memories, allowing mass-media images to fill in the gap.

"Where nostalgia once would have focused on specific places — homes and so forth — the objects of nostalgia are increasingly celebrities of the past, of music, films," Mr. Davis said. "This makes it easier for the media to capitalize on it, because the material is in their archives. Nostalgia today is of the media, by the media and for the media."

Those hoping to cash in on nec-

ralgic appeals have generally reached back to the baby-boom generation's adolescent years.

The Nickelodeon cable television network programs its daily "Nick at Nite" segment, which features reruns of such old staples as "My Three Sons" and "Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In," by picking the top-rated shows of 15 to 20 years ago, when its core audience was 12 years old.

Ad agencies began testing nostalgic appeals to young professionals in the mid-1980s. In 1985, for example, Young & Rubicam secured rights to the 1965 Beatles song "Help" for a campaign for the Ford Motor Co.'s Lincoln-Mercury division. Such tentative pokes at the past have lately become a flood.

"I thought nostalgia was a fad at first, but I'm convinced it's a phenomenon," said Michael D. Drexler, an advertising executive. The Campbell Soup Co. reintroduced "M'm-m-m, Good!" and the Timex Group again used the voice of John Cameron Swayze to assert, "It takes a licking but keeps on ticking."

Ad firms say that old slogans retain so much goodwill that to ignore them would be foolish. Ketchum Advertising has resurrected the 30-year-old slogan "I want my Maytag" after research by American Home Foods, which had just acquired the hot cereal, showed that the line was still recalled by 21 percent of the adult U.S. population.

General Foods U.S.A. is test-marketing Maxwell House 1892 Slow Roasted Coffee, packaged in the brand's 19th-century can. Last March, the Planters Life Savers Co. brought back, as part of a special promotion, Pepsin, Lio-O-Rice and Choc-O-Late — three discontinued Life Savers candies from the 1920s and 1930s that the company called "nostalgia flavors."

Sociologists and marketing experts who have studied the current passion for the past generally agree that people's desire to relive earlier times, even times before they were born, is in large measure a response to the rapid pace of social and technological change.

Robert Goldman, an associate professor of sociology at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon, said he had noticed two predominant motifs in contemporary advertising: love of the past and images of fear and death. Both, he said, attract "a population that is unsure how to deal with the present."

"We turn to the past," Mr. Davis said, "for psychological security and comfort, which present times deny us."

## WORLD BRIEFS

### U.S. Closes Embassy in El Salvador As Rebels Renew Attacks in Capital

SAN SALVADOR (Combined Dispatches) — Continuing a major offensive, leftist rebels struck across the capital Wednesday in fighting that forced the U.S. Embassy to close. The embassy urged junior officers, contract employees and dependent families to move into the embassy compound and offered special leave to diplomatic personnel wishing to leave El Salvador.

Apparently believing government claims that they were a spent force, insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front slipped into positions close to Salvadoran Army headquarters, and a military academy and opened up with mortars and machine guns.

In the wealthy Escalón, San Benito and Lomas de San Francisco neighborhoods, guerrillas turned seized houses into sniper nests. Providing fierce fighting, the attacks trapped residents, knocked out power to army headquarters and destroyed a house reportedly belonging to a senior U.S. intelligence officer. American officials declined to comment.

The latest thrust was the heaviest in five days and matched the combing levels of the Nov. 11 outset of the guerrilla offensive. Air force jets fired rockets at suspected rebel positions in one neighborhood, and government tanks and armored vehicles moved into the area. (NYT, Reuters)

### 2 Killed in Nagorno-Karabakh Strife

MOSCOW (Reuters) — At least two persons were killed Wednesday in violence that erupted following a Soviet parliamentary decision to change the status of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, an official in the territory said.

A spokesman for the Moscow-appointed committee currently administering Nagorno-Karabakh gave few details of the disturbances. But he said by phone from the territory's administrative center, Stepanakert, that the two deaths occurred just outside the territory in the republic of Azerbaijan.

Reports from Armenia and Azerbaijan, which both claim Nagorno-Karabakh, said mass meetings were being held to denounce the resolution passed Tuesday by the Supreme Soviet. It appeared to give control of the area back to Azerbaijan after 11 months of direct control from Moscow, but activists on both sides were unhappy. At least 120 people have died in nearly two years of violence over the region.

### U.K. May Send Envoy to Cambodia

WASHINGTON (NYT) — Despite a U.S. request that Britain defer sending a diplomat to Cambodia to supervise the distribution of British aid, a British official here said Wednesday that London probably would go ahead with its plan.

The Bush administration contends that the diplomat's presence would send the "wrong signals" to Cambodia, suggesting that the Phnom Penh government had won a degree of international acceptance. The United States regards the Phnom Penh government as illegitimate because it was installed by the Vietnamese invasion in 1979. The British diplomat said London agreed with that view.

In the last few weeks, Britain has eased its stance toward the Phnom Penh government. The United States still refuses to have anything to do with the government, headed by Prime Minister Hun Sen.

### FAO Backs PLO Role in Territories

ROME (WP) — The UN Food and Agriculture Organization, after emphatic U.S. objections, formally endorsed a resolution Wednesday calling for a PLO role in technical aid to Palestinian farmers in the Israeli-occupied territories.

The resolution, which also criticized the Israeli administration of the territories, was called "unbalanced" by U.S. officials. They contended that it boosted the status of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and they hinted strongly the United States might cut off funding. Such a measure would carry serious financial implications for the UN agency.

Gerald Monroe, U.S. envoy to the agency, said the Bush administration deplored what it perceived as attempted "politicization" of relief work. But only the United States and Israel voted against the resolution, which was approved by 96 member countries during the plenary session of the agency's annual congress.

### CIA Cargo Plane Crashes in Angola

WASHINGTON (AP) — A Central Intelligence Agency plane en route from Zaire carrying military and other equipment for U.S.-backed rebels in Angola crashed this week, killing all five Americans aboard and an undetermined number of insurgents, government officials said Wednesday. Some of the rebels survived.

The Lockheed L-100 propeller-driven cargo plane left a military base at Kaimba in Zaire on Monday night and crashed near the southeastern Angolan town of Jamba, where the rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola have their headquarters, the officials said. They attributed the crash to pilot error. There was no immediate U.S. government comment.

### Comoros Army Reportedly Disarmed

DZAOUZI, Mayotte (Reuters) — The mercenary-led presidential guard has taken control of the Comoros Republic since the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane and has disarmed the army, a French journalist expelled from the country said here Wednesday.

Joseph Edern, a journalist of the French-based Agence Internationale d'Images de Télévision, said upon arriving on the French island of Mayotte that a European mercenary officer of the presidential guard told him the regular army had been disarmed and might be dissolved. Mr. Edern was one of six French journalists who flew to the Comoros islands in the Indian Ocean, after Mr. Abdallah was killed Sunday.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Panel Urges Leaning Tower's Closing

ROME (Reuters) — A government committee has declared the Leaning Tower of Pisa dangerous, and officials said that the 800-year-old edifice, which attracts four million visitors annually, needs emergency restoration.

Experts and scientists from the Public Works Ministry said Tuesday that the 54.4-meter (179-foot) tower, listing at an angle of more than 5 degrees and sinking about one millimeter (.04 inches) a year, should be closed immediately for extensive work on its foundation and stonework.

Air New Zealand pilots said Wednesday that one-day strikes planned for Dec. 1 and 4 had been called off after progress in contract talks. The pilots also pledged not to strike over Christmas, or during the Commonwealth Games scheduled late in January. (APF)

Service on the French railroad car ferries operating between Dieppe, on the Normandy coast, and Newhaven, on Britain's southern coast, was disrupted Wednesday by a sailors' strike, management sources said. The seamen were protesting what they called a deterioration of working conditions on the ships, as well as pay for officers and mechanics. (APF)

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Alexandria	74	62	0	Bangkok	84	72	0
Amman	74	62	0	Beijing	64	52	0
Berlin	54	42	0	Bombay	84	72	0
Bombay	84	72	0	Calcutta	84	72	0
Buenos Aires	74	62	0	Chongqing	64	52	0
Calcutta	84	72	0	Colombo	84	72	0
Cairo	74	62	0	Dacca	84	72	0
Canton	64	52	0	Dhaka	84	72	0
Cebu	84	72	0	Hankow	64	52	0
Delhi	84	72	0	Hong Kong	84	72	0
Detroit	54	42	0	Kobe	64	52	0
Dublin	54	42	0	London	54	42	0
Frankfurt	54	42	0	Manila	84	72	0
Geneva	54	42	0	Medan	84	72	0
Hankow	64	52	0	Osaka	64	52	0
Hong Kong	84	72	0	Shanghai	64	52	0
Kobe	64	52	0	Singapore	84	72	0
London	54	42	0	Taipei	84	72	0
Los Angeles	74	62	0	Tokyo	64	52	0
Lyons	54	42	0				
Madrid	54	42	0				
Moscow	44	32	0				
Munich	54	42	0				
New York	54	42	0				
Osaka	64	52	0				
Paris	54	42	0				
Perth	74	62	0				
Port of Spain	84	72	0				
San Francisco	54	42	0				
Shanghai	64	52	0				
Singapore	84	72	0				
Taipei	84	72	0				
Tokyo	64	52	0				

THURSDAY'S FORECAST — CHANGEL: Shift to moderate, BANGKOK: Partly cloudy, 84-72; BEIJING: Partly cloudy, 64-52; BOMBAY: Partly cloudy, 84-72; CALCUTTA: Partly cloudy, 84-72; CANTON: Partly cloudy, 64-52; CEBU: Partly cloudy, 84-72; DELHI: Partly cloudy, 84-72; DUBAI: Partly cloudy, 84-72; GUANGZHOU: Partly cloudy, 64-52; HONG KONG: Partly cloudy, 84-72; KAOHSIUNG: Partly cloudy, 84-72; KUALA LUMPUR: Partly cloudy, 84-72; MANILA: Partly cloudy, 84-72; MEDAN: Partly cloudy, 84-72; MOSCOW: Partly cloudy, 44-32; MUMBAI: Partly cloudy, 84-72; NEW DELHI: Partly cloudy, 84-72; NEW YORK: Partly cloudy, 54-42; OSAKA: Partly cloudy, 64-52; PARIS: Partly cloudy, 54-42; PORT OF SPAIN: Partly cloudy, 84-72; RANGOON: Partly cloudy, 84-72; SEOUL: Partly cloudy, 64-52; SINGAPORE: Partly cloudy, 84-72; TAIPEI: Partly cloudy, 84-72; TOKYO: Partly cloudy, 64-52.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Service is an ethic at Shanghai JC Mandarin

The power of the Mandarin who rules the Republic of China is all but legendary. And their Confucian philosophy remains a driving force. Right in the heart of the busy city of Shanghai, at the new Shanghai JC Mandarin, the elegance of Confucian still guide and inspire.

Managed by Mandarin International, we are true to our traditions, as we are true to our location. For us service is an ethic. Stay at our hotel and experience the difference it makes on every level of our service.

Shanghai JC Mandarin

Opening Early 1990

AT SHERATON LITTLE THINGS MEAN A LOT

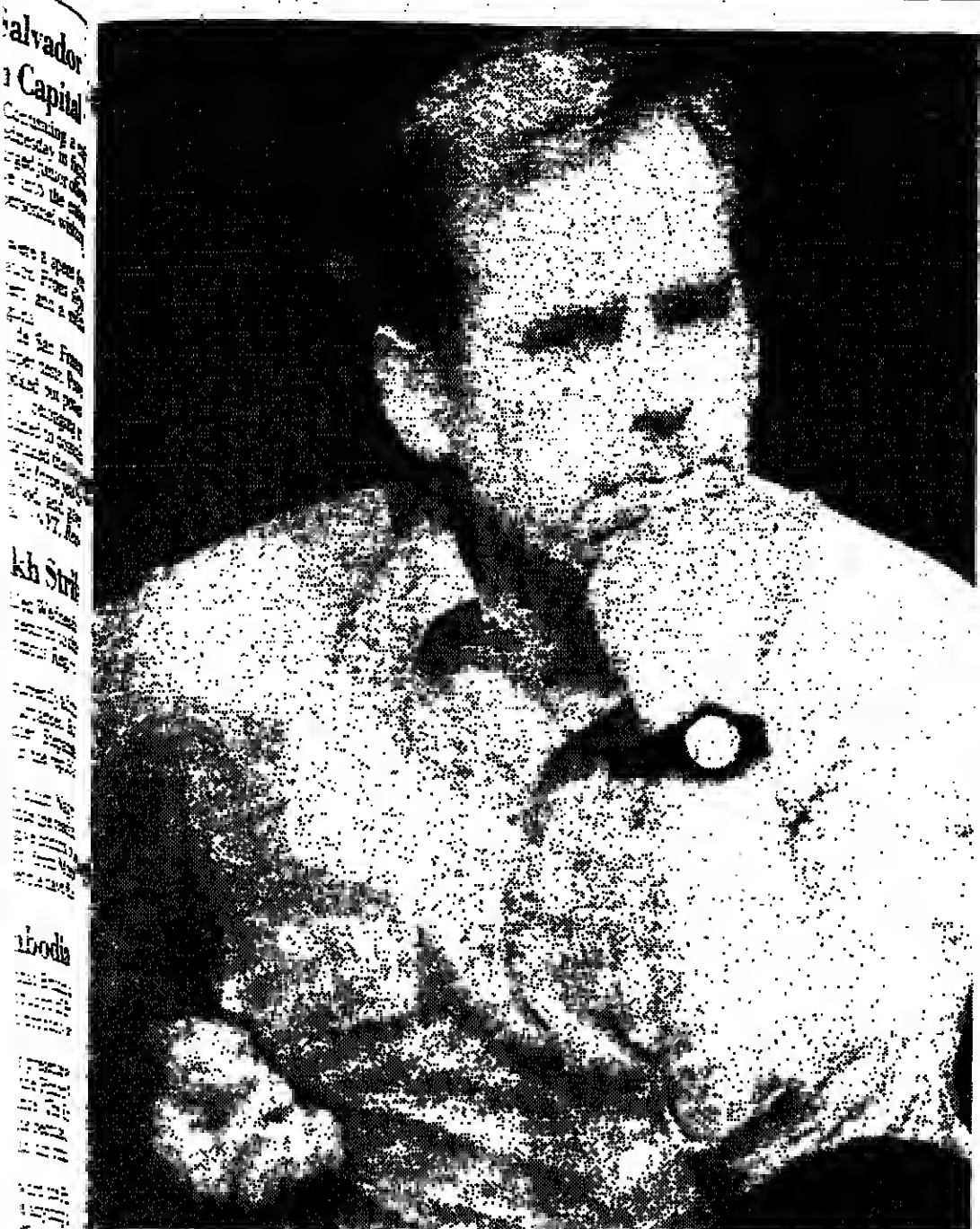
IT'S OUR JOB TO MAKE YOUR BUSINESS EASIER

When you're far from home, not to mention the office, it's comforting to know that Sheraton Hotels give you all the latest technology at your fingertips. So you can keep in touch, even in the remotest places.

For reservations at any of our 500 hotels throughout the world, the hospitality people of call your nearest Sheraton or travel agent.

Sheraton





A pensive Vaclav Havel at a press conference, no longer threatened with the muzzle.

# Vaclav Havel, Man of the Pen: A Thrust Fatal to Communists

**By Serge Schmemmann**  
*New York Times Service*

PRAGUE — If proof is needed that the pen is mightier than the sword, Vaclav Havel is Exhibit A. In and out of prisons over the last 20 years, his plays banned in his native land, the playwright on Tuesday accepted the figurative surrender of his tormentors at a meeting with Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec.

In a coincidence that seemed to close a symbolic circle, it was also on Tuesday that Rude Pravo, the main party newspaper, announced that the Czech and Slovak ministries of culture had lifted bans on many works of art, including his writings, that have been in place 20 years.

Mr. Havel did not achieve his role in a vacuum. There is a tradition in this part of the world that intellectual integrity and independent art translate into raw political power.

Writers and artists have played major roles in dissident movements in the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe.

In Prague, the release of censored works also freed, for example, the writings of Milan Kundera. Among several prominent Czechoslovakians returning from exile was an actor, Pavel Landovsky.

"In our country there has been a tradition since the 19th century that social movements were always ignited by the intelligentsia," Mr. Havel said in an interview in the current issue of the West German weekly Der Spiegel. "That was the case in 1968, and this time is no different."

But few writers or intellectuals have been thrust to the forefront of their nation's destiny quite as dramatically as Mr. Havel, 53.

As uncompromising in his resistance to the totalitarian state as he is in his ironic plays, he withstood censorship, prison, and the muzzle to become the premier symbol of Czech dissidence in the years after the Soviet Union intervened to crush the "Prague Spring" of 1968.

Active in 1968 as chairman of an unsanctioned Club of Independent Writers, he subsequently helped found the Charter 77 dissident movement and after his clashes with the authorities was repeatedly sent to prison.

## EAST: After Changes, Years of Hardship Are Likely

*(Continued from page 1)*

twice in 150 years by Russia and Germany, must devise a new way to live securely between these two powers.

In facing these challenges, Eastern Europe's most important political asset is the hard-won lesson of nonviolent, pluralistic civil organization born with the Solidarity union in 1980 in Poland and now seen in the mass protest movements of East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

The strong democratic values inherent in these movements are in part the product of reaction to violent and undemocratic regimes.

## SOVIET: Reunification Rejected

*(Continued from page 1)*

Soviet Union. Both wanted reunification but would respect whatever decision East Germans made in a free election.

"The two Germans have full rights to develop relations on a cultural and economic level, but the fact that there are two separate states," Mr. Gerasimov added.

"There is not one country in Europe that is anxious to see a united Germany because they are afraid of its consequences for stability."

Mr. de Michelis, although acknowledging that such revanchism might pose a problem in the future, ruled it out as an immediate threat to security, his spokesman said.

Mr. Gerasimov also attacked Mr. Kohl for making economic aid contingent on continued change.

"The further development of relations with the G.D.R. is being made directly dependent on fulfillment of a number of conditions, including demands to change the political and social system," Mr. Gerasimov said of Mr. Kohl's speech.

Mr. Gerasimov also said the West German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, would visit Moscow on Dec. 4 and 5. But he added that the visit had long been planned and was not linked to current events.

The official Soviet news agency Tass joined the debate on reunification Wednesday with a long commentary that accused Mr. Kohl of trying to foist his plans on others. The chancellor, Tass said, was encouraging Germans who seek the return of lost territories.

"His plan has willingly or unwillingly given fresh hope to those people in West Germany who openly advocate the recarving of European borders," the agency said.

# Battered Czech Intellectuals Hope for New Spring

**By Henry Kamm**  
*New York Times Service*

PRAGUE — All over Czechoslovakia, intellectuals who have spent two decades assigned to demeaning jobs such as window washer, bathroom attendant, and coal stoker for their involvement in the liberal experiments of the "Prague Spring" 21 years ago are wondering whether their fortunes and positions may improve.

After the Soviet-led invasion of 1968, which crushed the effort to give a "human face" to socialism, professional men and women who had taken a part in the great national stirring fell victim to the Communist Party's vengeance.

Hundreds of thousands of Communists who refused to recant the views they had affirmed openly during the eight-month reign of tolerance were stripped of party membership, fired from their jobs, and quite often, as punishment, given menial tasks.

No statistics are available for how many were driven into such employment.

But Czechoslovak surveys have documented a decline in the standards of academic and cultural institutions and a drop in economic productivity, all traced to what is commonly called this country's "cultural revolution."

One of these victims, a man who in 1968 had been a literary critic, was at his post Tuesday, stocking the furnace in a hospital.

Originally he had been ordered to wash windows, as had Tomas, the physician hero in Milan Kundera's novel, the "Unbearable Lightness of Being," but as he grew older, he was shifted to the less demanding hospital work.

The critic, who despite recent developments is not ready to have his name appear in newspapers, has edited an underground literary journal, but he has not decided whether to re-emerge from clandestine to open activity now that political change has come so suddenly.

"The struggle ahead will be long and hard," he continued. "Perhaps I will save my strength for a while longer for the battles to come and stay here for the moment," referring to his job at the hospital.

During lunch in the hospital canteen with two foreign friends, he was joined by his boss, the hospital's chief engineer.

The boss identified himself as a "reform communist" and allowed his tablemates to question him and analyze his role in a way unthinkable here a week ago.

The critic-stoker said he had always found the engineer to be friendly and open with his over-educated laborers, but he said he would never have expected the boss to disclose doubts about the party, especially in front of foreigners.

"I need conversations with people from Charter and the Civic Forum to orient myself," the boss said. "Our press never gave enough information."

He was referring to Charter 77, the organization of dissidents, much persecuted until recently, that formed the nucleus of Civic Forum, the new mass movement, which the party leadership has implicitly recognized as society's authentic representative.

The engineer said he thought the party might have to abandon its claim to the leading role in all political and social life.

But a worker who overheard the remark as he passed the table was less equivocal.

"You'll abandon it for sure," he said, hutting into the conversation. "And maybe more than that when the people learn all the crimes that were committed by the party."

In talks with Civic Forum leaders on Tuesday, Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec undertook to introduce a law that would end the party's "leading role."

The critic-stoker smiled. The engineer continued his defense of "reform communism," declaring that in the hospital, party members like himself had worked for reform.

"Not long ago, the party really controlled everything in this hospital," he said. "Decisions on everything came from the district leadership."

He said pressure from party progressives had succeeded in the last year to lessen the influence of party directives and give more weight to medical factors.

The engineer said he had never discriminated against the "Charterists" working in the hospital and often protected them. But he added: "You may not know this, but I have to report on them." The critic offered no comment.

For many dissidents, the widespread use of informers was an obvious fact of life, often confirmed for them by the police agents who were assigned to them like caseworkers and who would summon them for frequent interrogations.

At least some of the professionals who were dismissed after 1968 have made their way back to their old occupations.

Lawyers, professors of law and of public administration and former senior officials, including many who were fired and returned, are prominent among those seen daily at the Lanterna Magica, the mixed-media theater that serves as Civic Forum's temporary headquarters.

They are active in the legal drawing-up of the mounting demands for change that Civic Forum is placing before the government and party leaders.

One of these was Jiri Hajek, who had been Alexander Dubcek's foreign minister in 1968 but who has been unemployed ever since Mr. Dubcek and the revisions over which he presided were swept away by Soviet tanks.

Mr. Hajek, a founder of Charter 77, who, during the last 20 years would frequently meet with foreign visitors, recognized a Western correspondent.

"How nice that you are here, but I'm sorry I have no time," he said. "I'm busy with consultations."

For others, rehabilitation in their jobs may come too late.

An Oriental scholar said her father had been informally asked whether he would like to return to his university professorship.

"He's old and frail now and hasn't taught in so long," she said. "I don't think he'll go back."

# Misgivings About Dubcek, a Still-Potent Symbol

**By Mary Battiata**  
*Washington Post Service*

PRAGUE — After Alexander Dubcek's dramatic return to public life last week, someone taped to the statue in Wenceslas Square a Newswatch cover from 1968, showing the young Communist leader before Soviet tanks forcibly retired him and his "Prague Spring."

The picture was a homage to the man who symbolizes Czechoslovakia's belated transition. But underneath the photo, a small hand-lettered sign captured the ambivalent public reaction to Mr. Dubcek's re-emergence, and to the idea of his running for president.

"Dubcek and socialism, yes," the sign said. "But differently this time."

The question is whether Mr. Dubcek is different enough. Can he make a comeback?

It certainly seemed like it for a moment on Friday, when Mr. Dubcek appeared on the balcony overlooking Wenceslas Square and invoked before more than 300,000 people, and for the first time in 20 years, the words that shook the Soviet bloc in 1968:

"Long live socialism with a human face," he said. "Long live our new generation. Once we witnessed a dawn. Let us act in such a way that the dawn turns into daylight."

"Long Live Dubcek!" the crowd answered.

The demonstrators were even more affectionate when he spoke two days later.

"Dubcek to the castle!" they chanted, referring to Hradcany Castle, seat of government and symbol of independence.

There is no question that Mr. Dubcek is a potent symbol here, particularly among members of his own generation. The question of whether he should lead the country has become urgent, as both sides in

# Moscow Put Nuclear Forces on Alert in '68

*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — When Warsaw Pact forces led by the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia 21 years ago to crush the "Prague Spring," Moscow put its battle-ready nuclear rocket forces on 10-minute alert out of fear of possible Western intervention, according to a classified Defense Department study of the East-West military balance in Europe.

The study said that the Soviet Union was "prepared to resort to theater nuclear weapons, if necessary, to prevent NATO's taking advantage" of the crisis to launch a surprise attack during the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

"Some Soviet strategic missile units were at full combat readiness — capable of launching a missile in 10 minutes in case of escalation," the study said, even though "Moscow clearly wanted to avoid a general war in Europe."

A supporting document prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency to accompany the Pentagon study asserted that an all-out war in Europe might have resulted if U.S. and NATO forces had mobilized to deter the Soviet invasion.

The documents indicated that actions by the Soviet Union and NATO might have brought the two nations closer to war than has been commonly realized. U.S. intelligence analysts cite the reports as a textbook illustration of how Moscow might react if its vital interests are threatened.

Mr. Dubcek's strongest support, not surprisingly, is with those old enough to have participated in the 1968 period and to have suffered during the Soviet-instigated repression that followed.

But even some of his own generation fault him for being silent so long.

Mr. Dubcek never joined the human rights group Charter 77, nor has he joined the Club for Socialist Restructuring, a dissident group that includes many prominent former Communists.

THE  
PENINSULA  
NEW YORK

IT IS ONLY WHEN  
EVERY SINGLE  
LITTLE DETAIL IS  
TAKEN  
CARE OF FOR YOU  
THAT YOU  
CAN FULLY  
DEVOTE YOUR  
MIND  
TO THE BUSINESS  
WHICH BROUGHT  
YOU HERE

A truly great hotel in the city's greatest location  
Fifth Avenue and 55th Street

The Leading Hotels of the World  
The Leading Hotels of the World

Preferred Hotels Worldwide

Steigenberger Reservation Service

Our big success story  
is our pocket diary:  
thin, flat and elegant.

Year after year—even at a period when diaries abound—the International Herald Tribune flat, silk-grain leather diary is the hit of the season.

Ingeniously designed to be thinner-than-thin, it still brings you everything...including a built-in note pad with always-available "jotting paper". Plus there are conversion tables of weights, measures and distances, a list of national holidays by country, a wine vintage chart, and many other useful facts. All in this incredibly flat little book that slips easily into a jacket pocket.

The perfect gift for almost anyone...including yourself. Please allow 30 days for delivery.

- Personalized with gold initials (up to 3 at no extra cost).
- Notepaper sheets fit on the back of the diary—a simple pull removes top sheet.
- Comes with notepaper refills.
- Gilt metal corners.
- Plenty of space for appointments.
- Tabbed address section.
- Rich black leather.
- Format 8 x 13 cm (5 1/4 x 3 in.).
- Quantity discounts are available.

—Herald Tribune—

International Herald Tribune,  
Karen Dior, Special Projects Division,  
181 Ave. Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France.  
Payment is by credit card only. All major cards accepted.  
(Please note that French residents may pay by check in French francs, at the current exchange rate. We regret that checks in other currencies cannot be accepted.)

Please charge to my ☐ Access ☐ Visa ☐ Amex ☐ Eurocard ☐ Diners ☐ MasterCard

Card No. \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_  
(necessary for red card purchase) up to 3 per diary

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ 1990 IHT  
Pocket Diaries.

Price includes initials, packing and postage in Europe.

1-4 diaries	5-9 diaries	10-14 diaries	Additional postage (outside Europe)
US \$24.50 each	US \$34.50 each	US \$32.50 each	US \$4 each

Check delivery dates outside Europe's request or ordered mail \$12 per order

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
(IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/Code/Country \_\_\_\_\_ 30-11-89



# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## German Reunification

With its plan for German reunification, the West German government has suddenly made all of the hard questions about European security much more urgent. Even the appearance of this plan is a surprise. As recently as 10 days before the official West German view was that the possibility of reunification lay far off in the misty future and many, many things would have to be settled before it could be discussed seriously. But now Chancellor Helmut Kohl is discussing it very seriously indeed. It is not only in Eastern Europe that the momentum of events is taking politicians by surprise and carrying them along faster than they had intended. It has dawned on Mr. Kohl that the parade has started, and he is scrambling to get back up at the head of it.

The plan itself is sensible. The absolute condition for any closer cooperation is free elections in East Germany. But following elections Mr. Kohl foresees a growing structure of joint commissions on everything from economic policy to environmental protection to health and culture. Out of that would evolve an increasingly close confederation. The troubling thing about this plan is that it arises entirely from domestic West German political pressures. There is going to be an election in a little more than a year, and Mr. Kohl was being needed from both right and left for being slow and unimaginative.

There will now be much anxious discussion of the legalisms of the case, and arguments over whether various four-power agreements made at the end of World War II come into play. It would be wise to deal with the political realities. The first is that German reunification is an immensely popular cause and is very likely to take place in the 1990s — perhaps the early 1990s. Germans, like others, have a right to self-determination. The second reality is that many other countries have legitimate interests in the terms of this reunification, and in assurances that their security does not suffer. Just as the West does not wish to see NATO undermined, the Western powers have to acknowledge that the Soviet Union and Poland in particular have reason for deep concern.

The great and joyful assertion of freedom and democracy in Eastern Europe is possible for only one reason: because the Soviets are no longer repressing it with force. If the West wants to see this revival of democracy continue, it is going to have to find ways to guarantee to the Soviets and to all of Germany's uneasy neighbors that reunification does not threaten them. As the dominant power in NATO, the United States bears the primary responsibility for finding ways to convince the Soviets that a Europe without fences will remain stable and peaceful.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

## Next Comes Winter

The end of history? The remarkable uprisings in Eastern Europe are more like a resumption of history. As Hungarians plan their first free elections since World War II, demonstrators in Czechoslovakia quote Thomas Jefferson and chant the name of Alexander Dubcek, who failed heroically in 1968 to bring reform. And now, astonishingly, Prague's hard-line rulers have agreed to form a new coalition government by Sunday. Americans rub their eyes. These events add up to something the experts insisted could never happen: a revolution from below, tolerated if not encouraged by the Soviet Union. But it would be equally mistaken to assume that the renewal of history in Eastern Europe will lead inexorably to democratic triumphs. Expectations soar, but euphorias are bare. In varying degrees, rulers accustomed to autocracy face opponents inexperienced in democracy. And as Moscow's grip relaxes, slumbering nationalist hatreds awake. Each member of the crumbling bloc faces special dangers.

East Germany has the advantage of wealthier Western cousins willing to help ease the transition to a mixed economy. But a dogmatic ruling party has no reformist wing, while an unseasoned opposition has no real program beyond the generalized wish for more bread and freedom without sacrificing cradle-to-grave security.

Poland benefits from a strong, organized opposition with grass-roots legitimacy and recognized leaders. But Solidarity has yet to devise a convincing program for moving away from the numerous subsidies that keep Poland poor. A government led by non-Communists still finds it easier to seek help abroad than to speak frankly about its future. Hungary began moving years ago from the Soviet economic model, and its ruling party has now abandoned its Communist identity. But the democratic opposition is fractious and offers no coherent remedies for an inefficient, debt-ridden economy. If times get worse, an ugly tradition of demagogic chauvinism might surface again.

Czechoslovakia has stronger democratic roots, but an untested opposition there grapples with a party desperate to retain its authority and privileges. Opening up the political system may also revive historic tensions between Czechs and Slovaks. And years of party purges have left a bitter legacy.

These are chastening hazards. The long nightmare of repression has tended to unite its victims; as the nightmare lifts, the newly liberated will inevitably confront suppressed grievances of the past and a fragile future. After this autumn's extraordinary spring, there is every reason to rejoice over freedom's march, but there is still a winter ahead.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Cambodian Alternatives

The threshold question that gives pause to many Americans addressing Cambodia is whether it is possible to stomach any available alternative. Current U.S. policy favors an interim government including the Khmer Rouge, fanatical Communist mass murderers of the 1970s. Critics would rely on the Cambodian regime led by Hun Sen, a former Khmer Rouge and a puppet of Hanoi. Can anyone concerned for the welfare and survival of the Cambodian people accept either choice?

Let us start by asking who is Hun Sen, whose army poses the sole effective barrier to a Khmer Rouge return to power. Hun Sen is sometimes presented as an erstwhile partner and co-equal of Pol Pot. But people who have dissected the record say that this man, 18 when he joined up under Prince Sihanouk in 1970, was a small cog in the Khmer Rouge machine. They have found no evidence linking him to the murder of innocents before he fled to Vietnam in 1977 to fight Pol Pot. He has a public record of 10 years in the regime, that Hun Sen installed in Phnom Penh, Neam Chanda, one leading expert, concludes that he has helped to keep the killers at bay and has revived life in a devastated land. Whatever his past, he is desperate now to accommodate the developed nations whose patronage is vital to Cambodian renewal.

And who are the Khmer Rouge? American officials suggest that the passage of time and the vigilance of outsiders make it safe to admit this beast temporarily into the political tent, the better to draw its fangs. But the Khmer Rouge have not met the first test, which is acknowledging their crimes of the 1970s. The Pol Pot leadership remains in place, commanding young soldiers recruited

in refugee camps on the Thai border that the Khmer Rouge run like concentration camps. (American relief funds make the United States their principal support, by the way.) In short, nothing indicates that the Khmer Rouge have changed their nature. A resumption of genocide cannot be ruled out.

That Hun Sen depends on Vietnam for his political survival raises its own hard questions. Vietnam and China compete in cynicism toward Cambodia. Just as China supports the Khmer Rouge to put pressure on Vietnam, Vietnam uses Hun Sen to keep China's influence at a remove. In this matter as in Hun Sen's personal record, nonetheless, the call is close but clear. Vietnam abuses Cambodia's sovereignty. China does that and also places Cambodia's citizens at risk of genocide. It is a miserable choice but not a difficult one.

Current U.S. policy looks to a comprehensive political solution that will bar the Khmer Rouge. But meanwhile it brings the Khmer Rouge in the gate, offering them a role in an interim government, and saps the authority and strength of their chief antagonist, Hun Sen. The bestial eye has to be kept on Hun Sen. There can be no possibility of aiding him directly. But there must be openness to the effort by one wing of a divided Thai government to throttle down the war that is the surest engine of Khmer Rouge advance. A new effort must be mounted to ease Chinese and Southeast Asian hesitations about Vietnam, so that China will turn down the flow of arms sustaining the Khmer Rouge. The premise on which American policy must rest is that the Khmer Rouge pose a mortal threat to the Cambodian people.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Comment

### Well-Meaning, Weak-Willed

India's voters have shown their disgust with the way in which the country is governed. Rajiv Gandhi has seen his party's tally of 415 seats in 1984 cut by half. His has been a disappointing squandering of an extraordinary mandate given him following the assassination of his mother. The airline pilot who came into politics reluctantly as a "Mr. Clean" has been unable to root out corruption in his party. The technocrat who began to free the economy from over-regulation failed to complete the reforms. The national leader who negotiated an imaginative peace

deal with Sikhs in the Punjab went back on it when pressed by Hindus in neighboring Haryana. He has been a well-meaning but weak-willed prime minister.

There is a risk that, as in the late '70s when Congress first lost power, its opponents will squander their success through squabbling and let it back in. Whatever the composition of the next government, its main task is clear: further to deregulate a system that puts too much power in the hands of politicians and bureaucrats, thereby corrupting them, and which stifles the undoubted entrepreneurial flair of Indian businessmen.

— The Daily Telegraph (London)

## INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

JOHN HAY WHITNEY, Chairman 1958-1982

KATHARINE GRAHAM, WILLIAM S. PALEY, ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER  
Co-Chairmen

LEE W. HUEBNER, Publisher

JOHN VINOCUR, Executive Editor • WALTER WELLS, News Editor • SAMUEL APT, KATHERINE KNORR  
and CHARLES MITCHELLMORE, Deputy Editors • CARL GEWIRTZ, Associate Editor •  
ROBERT J. DONAHUE, Editor of the Editorial Pages

RENE BONDI, Deputy Publisher • RICHARD H. MORGAN, Associate Publisher •  
FRANCOIS DESMAISON, Associate Director • JUANITA L. CASPARI, Advertising Sales Director •  
ROBERT FARRÉ, Circulation Director, Europe • KOURDT HOWELL, Director, Information Systems

International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.  
Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.00. Telex: Advertising, 613595; Circulation, 612832; Editorial, 612718; Production, 630698.

Director of the publication: Richard D. Simmons

Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Convent Road, Singapore 0511. Tel: 471-7188. Telex: RS56928

Ming Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Knappe, 30 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong. Tel: 5-8610616. Telex: 61170

Managing Dir. U.K.: Robin MacKenzie, 63 Long Acre, London WC2. Tel: 836-4802. Telex: 2630709

Gen. Mgr. W. Germany: W. Lauerbach, Friedrichstr. 15, 6000 Frankfurt/M. Tel: (069) 736753. Telex: 416721

Pres. U.S.: Michael Corry, 350 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel: (212) 753-3800. Telex: 427715

S.A. au capital de 1.200.000 F. RCS Nanterre B 732021126. Commission Paritaire No. 61337

© 1989, International Herald Tribune. All rights reserved. ISSN: 0294-8052.

## Summit: A Historic Score For a Complementary Duo

By Jim Hoagland

PARIS — Mikhail Gorbachev, maker of history, and George Bush, more a product of his times than a shaper of them, meet this weekend at Malta to discuss burying superpower rivalry in Europe. If they play to each other's strengths instead of seeking out weaknesses, it is just possible that they will come up with a formula for this historic task.

While riding the rapids of Soviet and East European change, Mr. Gorbachev has demonstrated that he is a man who perceives and seeks to channel history's fast-moving currents. He is expected to arrive in Malta with a detailed plan that emphasizes turning over more responsibility and control of European affairs to the European nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The superpowers would commit themselves at Malta to a code of conduct of noninterference as part of the arrangement.

The diplomatic architecture that Mr. Gorbachev will propose for this effort would culminate in a new 35-nation European summit, similar to the gathering attended by Gerald Ford and Leonid Brezhnev in 1975. The purpose of Helsinki II would be to formally bless a European conventional-arms-reductions agreement by the end of 1990. Bonn and Paris are reported to be ready to urge Mr. Bush to accept such a summit if Mr. Gorbachev does propose it.

An incentive that Mr. Gorbachev may offer Mr. Bush in return for Helsinki II is quick agreement to negotiate the "open skies" treaty the president proposed last spring. NATO and the Warsaw Pact members would accept routine aerial surveillance over their territories. Details would be negotiated in Ottawa after a foreign ministers' conference in the spring.

Mr. Bush is a natural counterpuncher. His best moments come not from situations of his

own making but from opportunities provided by others. (Ask Michael Dukakis.) Both his cautious nature and the fact that it is the other guy's empire that is disintegrating give him the chance to play The Transformer at Malta.

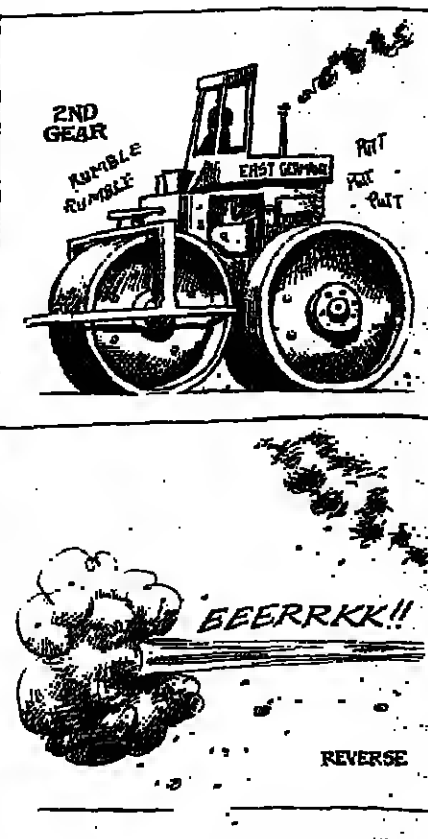
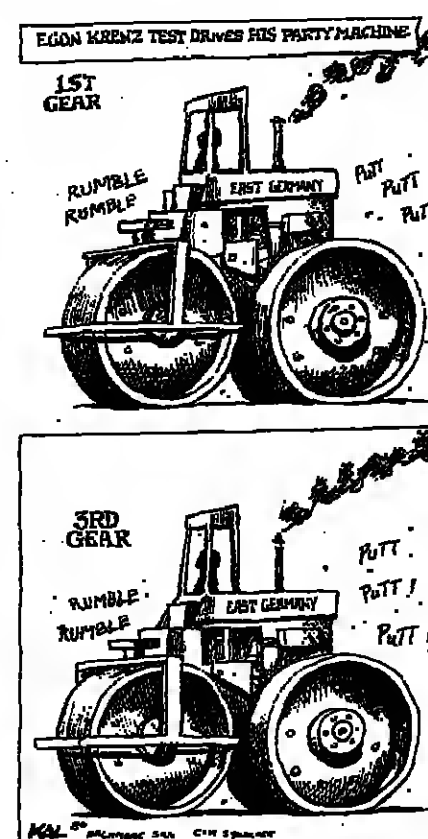
That is, Mr. Bush will have a chance to transform Mr. Gorbachev's pan-European summit proposals rather than simply turning them down or putting them on hold. He should go prepared to convert Mr. Gorbachev's visions into practical proposals for the reconstruction of Eastern Europe through a joint effort by the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Japan.

The time has come for a Marshall-type plan — use of public funds for a strategic purpose that includes the transfer of expertise, planning and attitudes as well as some cash. The key gadget is to include the Soviet Union in the effort as a donor country, to save face for Mr. Gorbachev while making sure that the Soviets are shown how desperate Communist economies can be overhauled on free-market lines. The aim would be to get East European products into global markets on a competitive basis so that these countries can begin digging themselves out of debt and penury.

The Soviets have something to offer as a donor despite their own dire straits. According to Western intelligence, Moscow is sharply cutting energy exports to its East European satellites as the crucial winter of reform begins. It should be induced to stop these reductions.

Debt relief among comrades appears to have been much more significant than that granted by capitalists. Despite West Germany's forgiveness of a \$500 million loan this autumn for Poland, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki appears to have been given a cold shoulder in Moscow last week when he sought similar comfort on Poland's \$3 billion ruble debt to the Soviets.

Malta may also be the forum for Mr. Gorbachev to flesh out his tantalizing hints that the



chev to flesh out his tantalizing hints that the Soviets are prepared to give up their utopian insistence on a nuclear-free world. This would make possible accords that would define and create minimal nuclear deterrence on both sides. West German officials have been humoring the Soviets to give up propaganda advantages of the anti-nuclear campaign.

The most urgent topic on Mr. Gorbachev's agenda, however, is Berlin. The publicized cable he sent Mr. Bush on Nov. 10 contained a note of alarm about the situation in Berlin spinning out of control that the White House did not disclose.

according to government officials. The same cable went to the leaders of the other two Western allies with forces in Berlin, Britain and France, as well as to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and ex-Chancellor Willy Brandt. Mr. Bush's blandness and laconic responses, often criticized in America, should help reassure Mr. Gorbachev at this crucial moment. And Mr. Gorbachev's penchant for visionary thinking and action may help inspire this low-key American president to new heights. The world has to hope that opposites do attract.

The Washington Post

## The East Will Need Western Allies to Fight Off General Winter

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — Quite literally, the weather this winter can change history. That has happened twice in Europe since World War II, once for the worse and once for the better.

The winter of 1946-47 was exceptionally severe, one of the coldest in a century. The Oder and the Vistula froze solid. Exhausted by war, huddled in unheated ruins, people had no strength to resist the imposition of communism. Robert Kaiser of The Washington Post later wrote a book arguing cold winter, cold war. There is something to be said for the premise.

I was living in Warsaw that winter, working mostly by candlelight and, as much of the time as possible, in bed under an eiderdown. As Westerners we had privileged access to food and good clothing, but it was still miserable. Most people simply suffered, all the more depressed and demoralized since they had looked forward so

hopefully to the end of the war as the beginning of a tolerable life.

The second occasion when the weather made a big difference was the winter of 1973-74. Arab petroleum exporters quadrupled the price of oil and imposed boycotts on several Western countries — the "oil weapon," with which they hoped to force abandonment of support for Israel. It turned out to be an unusually mild winter. There was serious inconvenience but no real distress. Fuel supplies could be stretched out.

Gradually the Western countries managed to organize their response, and the oil crisis was surmounted without concession. A run of really bad weather could have created irresistible pressures. Meteorologists refuse to predict what is in store from now until spring.

And all the marvels of Western technology still can't subdue the climate. But some things can be done.

The degree of human suffering this winter, especially in Poland and the Soviet Union, can affect the chances of the wonderful prospects of transformation to freedom and peace, or of breakdown and dangerous disorder. The new leaders of Poland are worried above all now about getting through the winter without disaster. The keys are food and fuel.

Food doesn't only mean stocks, it also means transport. Getting emergency aid in place is urgent. Medium- and long-term recovery aid does need to be subject to reforms and the capacity to use it effectively. But that takes time, and winter is at hand, spring only on the horizon. Reports from the Soviet Union in-

dicate that large amounts of badly needed food are blocked at ports and borders by transportation breakdowns. I don't know what the bottlenecks are, but I suspect that Soviet authorities would be glad to explain them to Western experts and officials who might be in a position to help.

This immediate effort in support of Mikhail Gorbachev's struggle to institute new policies also need not depend on broader conditions that are certainly appropriate to other kinds of aid. Besides being nobly humanitarian, it would be politically shrewd without endangering any Western interests.

A critical issue for the Soviets this winter is the coal miners. If supplies can be got to them so that output is assured, it would matter enormously to the cities. Italy's prime minister, Ciriaco De Mita, has suggested an airlift. This type of thinking, identifying limited points where something can be

done quickly and effectively, is what made the Marshall Plan work so well. Moscow could help by announcing that it would divert energy supplies from arms plants, as needed by civilians in the crucial few months ahead.

Historically, "General Winter" has been a Russian ally, helping to defeat the armies of Napoleon and Hitler. But this year he threatens to be a foe of the hopeful forces for change throughout the East. The West should not dither as he approaches.

President George Bush repeats that he will be "prudent," even "timid," in discussing dramatic developments in the world with Mikhail Gorbachev this weekend. That is sound principle.

But he can well afford to be bold, about joining with America's friends and allies, in helping the East confront the unknowns of a winter that could make the big difference.

The New York Times

## East Europe: It's 1989, So What's This Talk About Sarajevo?

By William Pfaff

PARIS — Considerable anxiety and some hysteria is being expressed about conflicts of nationality and territory supposedly reposed in Eastern Europe and the Balkans by the retreat of the Cold War. People who a year or two ago knew little or nothing of Transylvania, Bessarabia, Kosovo and the Oder-Neisse line now seem convinced that new world wars await ignition in the East.

All of this gets rather ahead of events, since the countries of the East still live under external constraint, the Warsaw Pact has not yet been annulled and Germany is far from unity. It is true, and extremely important, that the European system of the last 40 years approaches its end, and that the future offers complexity and the prospect of surprises. One should not, however, exaggerate the downward side of change, nor overlook what is not changing. Nationality and religious conflict were never fully suppressed in the East.

Anti-Semitism and accusations of "Zionism" were instruments of purge in the U.S.S.R. and the bloc in the 1950s, and in Poland in the 1960s. The famous Transylvanian dispute has been alive through the postwar period, becoming acute in the last few years as some 25,000 ethnic Hungarians fled Romanian persecution to claim refugee status in Hungary.

The abominable Ceausescu regime in Romania also persecutes its ethnic German minority, "selling" its members to West Germany for cash. Bulgaria persecutes its Turkish minority, and Serbian nationalism soars in Yugoslavia with the demagoguery of Slobodan Milosevic, directed against the ethnic Albanians of neighboring Kosovo.

Needless to say, none of this is historically unprecedented. Before Albanian migration, Kosovo was Serb. Ottoman Turks ruled and oppressed Bulgarians. Transylvania's Romanians were once the Hungarians' serfs.

Religion adds its complications. Serbs are Orthodox Christians; Albanians are Muslims. Romanians are Orthodox, an autochthonous church; Hungarians are Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans. Bulgarians are Orthodox, and their Turkish minority is Muslim.

The situation is intensely complex, but conflict was, until the first world war, muted within the flexible multinational and multi-confessional Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian systems. The rise of romantic nationalism in the 19th century convinced the elites of the region that every nationality had to have its own nation-state. Woodrow Wilson contributed his 14 points for European peace, among them redefinition of Italian, Austro-Hungarian, Balkan and Turkish frontiers along nationality lines.

The whole undertaking acquired a bad name, indeed a sinister one, because both the great wars of this century originated in national disputes in the East. The man who assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne at Sarajevo in 1914 was a Serb nationalist. Hitler's Anschluss with Austria and his dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and Poland were explained as uniting German populations in a greater German Reich.

Those events, though, provide one of those historical analogies we are better off without. The reason the world wars were set off by national or irredentist claims in the East was that great powers wanted war. In 1914 all the great powers thought war likely, even desirable. People believed in a social Darwinism which said that war was the way by which nations progressed and tested their qualities. Naturally nobody dreamed that the war begun in 1914 would become an epochally suicidal struggle.

In 1939-1940 Hitler wanted war. He had been saying from the beginning of his political career that Germany must retake territories lost at

Versailles, and expand eastward. He said that revenge against France and destruction of Bolshevism in Russia justified war. The problems of German minorities in the East merely gave him the rationale for what he meant to do in any case.

Today no person of political consequence in any of the major nations of Europe remotely imagines war worthwhile for any cause other than defense against an attack by Soviet Russia — and today that has become scarcely imaginable. The Soviet Union itself, which lived for many years within an officially promoted paranoia about attack from the west, today has officially acknowledged that the West does not threaten the U.S.S.R.

The notion that any of the European major powers would today or tomorrow be drawn into a war over national or communal disputes in Eastern Europe or the Balkans is so incredible as scarcely to merit discussion. Of course, the Hungarians and the Romanians might at some future date fight one another. The Greeks and Turks might fight over Cyprus. Violence in Yugoslavia is perfectly possible. What is unimaginable is that Germany or France, or the European Community or the Soviet Union, would fight among themselves as a consequence of violence in the Balkans or in southeastern Europe.

People ordinarily take history in small and manageable bites, or in such slogans as "No More Munichs" or "Never Again." It is dangerous to do so. The past is a rich source of warning and instruction, but it can be a bad guide to action, since today never is the same as yesterday.

What is happening now in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, even Romania, and in the Soviet Union — retrogresses us to a condition of great political complexity and some real risk. It does not take us back to the 19th century, or to 1914 or the 1930s.

International Herald Tribune  
© Los Angeles Times Syndicate

## Glasnost or Not, the Old Gulag Is Still in Business

By Frank Wolf and Chris Smith

Representatives Wolf, from Virginia, and Smith, from New Jersey, are Republican members of the congressional Helsinki Commission.

WASHINGTON — From behind the barbed wire of Perm Labor Camp 35, we emerged into view of a Soviet prisoner standing in front of freshly painted barracks. "We are American congressmen willing to talk with you," we yelled out.

In the interviews that followed, the 23 inmates in that camp told us the details of the horrible conditions that were not for our viewing: long periods in isolation punishment cells, severe cold used as torture, routine interceptions of mail and arbitrary cancellation of family visits.

We saw the shov — the notorious 4-by-8-foot (1.2-by-2.4-meter) punishment plank on which to sleep, with no bedding or blankets. Pointed concrete protrudes from the shov walls to scrape or cut prisoners whose fatigue might cause them to lean or try to sleep against it.

Mikhail Kazachkov has spent nearly 200 days of his 14-year incarceration in punishment cells, up to 15 days at a time in the shov cell. Imprisoned in 1975 a week after applying to emigrate, he recently led eight other inmates at Perm 35 in a work stoppage to protest unsanitary conditions. Together, these prisoners formed a Helsinki-Vienna human rights monitoring group. They were within their rights under the Helsinki accords and the 1989 Vienna agreement "to promote the Helsinki process," but camp authorities used harsh measures to stop them.

We demanded that Mr. Kazachkov be allowed to speak to us, although he had been moved from Perm 35 to the Perm investigation prison a few weeks before our visit. He was not alone in describing instances of physical abuse (his arm was injured when he resisted a forced head-shaving). But he said that most general-purpose beatings had ceased in Perm 35.

Just weeks after our visit, Mr. Kazachkov was singled out and put on

appeals, he was sentenced to serve the next three years of his term in the more severe regime of Chistopol prison.

Many, though not all, of the inmates we met claimed to be political prisoners. They told their stories boldly and gravely, several of them condemning the abuses of the KGB and camp officials in their presence.

We sought and received assurances beforehand from Soviet officials that no retribution would be brought against any prisoner. We repeated this Soviet promise loudly during meetings with many prisoners. They realized the possible peril in speaking to us but, as one said, that "there is nothing more they can do to us."

The Perm 35 prisoners are held under three basic charges: trying to flee the country (including hijacking, in some cases), war crimes and espionage. Many languish under Article 64 of the criminal code, which covers "treason," in combination with more clear-cut political offenses under such laws as Article 70, which covers "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Soviet officials claim that they hold no political prisoners; all who were sentenced exclusively under one of the four purely political articles (dealing with free speech, peaceful assembly and so on) have been released in amnesties under Mikhail Gorbachev.

Prosecution on charges of treason for activities forbidden in the Brezhnev era makes no sense today. Article 64 has been interpreted far too broadly, and used to threaten prisoners with capital punishment or to extract testimony. It is time for review of the excessive punishment meted out for nonviolent "treasons" that might not ever be prosecuted.

Alexander Goldfarb, a Byelorussian Christian, was charged with treason for trying to flee across the Black

Sea in a rubber raft, and for carrying pictures allegedly depicting how bad life is in the Soviet Union. Mr. Goldfarb admits to having the pictures: snapshots of his apartment.

The Ukrainian Bohdan Klimchuk was accused of treason for trying to flee through Iran with "nationalist" short stories he wrote.

Russian Ketentsevich was accused of treason for trying to contact American journalists and embassy personnel in order to go to the West.

Leonid Lubanov was accused of treason for trying to send abroad a manuscript providing 30 profiles of corrupt officials.

What if these men had done the same things under Mikhail Gorbachev? Many of their acts would not have been considered crimes, certainly not treason. Yet Soviet officials have refused to open the men's files.

Bringing glasnost to the gulag will mean, first, releasing all remaining political prisoners and simply closing down places such as Perm 35. The Soviets should allow human rights groups such as Helsinki Watch and Amnesty International access to any Soviet prisons and labor camps. Most important, they should allow independent monitors in the Soviet Union access to prisoners and camps.

Finally, the Soviets should put into practice their unprecedented statement to us that from now on "all correctional labor colonies will have Bibles in necessary quantities and permit ministers of faith to visit."

responsible for abuses, and authorities are considering penal reforms.

We were struck by the appreciation expressed by at least a dozen Perm 35 prisoners for Ronald Reagan. They had similar regard for George Bush. They knew it was Mr. Reagan's practice to speak personally for specific prisoners and Jewish religious leaders, human rights discussions. Such high-level advocacy, combined with appeals to the Soviet government, embassies and even prison wardens, has led to the release of hundreds of political prisoners, including the former Perm 35 inmate Natan Sharansky.

Mr. Kazachkov told us that his fellow prisoners expected to be released soon, because their cases would be raised by the West.

The Washington Post

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1889: Think of the Feet

PARIS — The Herald says in an editorial: The formation of a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Feet is the latest illustration of the Anglo-Saxon tendency to do good, not by stealth, but by organization. There is probably nothing in the civilized world so cruelly oppressed as the human foot. What with tight shoes; shoes made in utter defiance of the shape of the foot; shoes that let in water and encourage chilblains, and that survival of barbarism, the boot as worn by a civilian, the foot is outraged from morning till night. It is important that this cruelty be checked. At any rate, the Friends of Oppressed Feet may be trusted to invent an improved shoe which will be a miracle of ingenuity; and then to wonder why the world refuses to wear it.

### 1914: Monarchy to Fall?

ROME — An important personage who has just returned from a visit to Vienna and Budapest believes that the

Dual Monarchy is on the verge of disaster. The Austrian army, beaten at every turn by the Russians, has lost all heart and the men are ripe for revolt. Vienna is a city of mourning; wherever one goes one sees the emblems of death. Conditions in Budapest, overcrowded with refugees, are appalling. Everyone fears the approach of the Russians, and the Hungarians are eager for peace. The feeling is that France would be willing to listen, but for the pact of London. Austria now realizes that she has been the Kaiser's cat's-paw and her aged ruler is said to be in a serious condition.

### 1939: Russia-Finland Rift

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with Finland tonight [Nov. 29]. Foreign Commissar Molotov told Russians by



## OPINION

Summit: Gorbachev Has  
A German Card to Play

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — George Bush believes that he and Mikhail Gorbachev have a settled summit ground rule: No surprises. However, Mr. Gorbachev might be driven toward a giant diplomatic gamble because of his enveloping domestic crisis, which is the result of the exhaustion of human material under socialism.

A Warsaw joke: There are two solutions to the economic crisis, one rational, the other miraculous. The rational one is the Virgin of Czestochowa appearing with \$50 billion. The miraculous one is that the Poles become industrialists.

The damage that socialism has done to social vigor is just beginning to be

**Socialism suffocates all forms of energy except one — social unrest. To buy time and to seize a lifeline, Mr. Gorbachev needs a quick success.**

Understood, Mr. Bush should assume that Mr. Gorbachev must suspect: Perestroika will fail to find in Soviet society the vitality necessary for modernization. So far the failure is complete. Thanks to glasnost, the talk in coffeehouses is better, but do not expect sugar for your coffee. Socialism has not only cleared the shelves of basic commodities, it has sapped biological vigor.

Nicholas Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute and Harvard Center for Population Studies says that Eastern Europe, although not nearly as (strictly speaking) sickening as the Soviet Union, is experiencing declining life expectancy at birth, a trend unprecedented for industrial societies in peacetime.

Prague authorities say that upward of 40 percent of Czech males in industrial areas drink "excessively" and the number of female alcoholics has tripled in a decade. East Germany's Ministry of Health said last year that one in 12 citizens was a heavy drinker and one-third of those were untreatable alcoholics. Poland's government estimates that a million people — four percent of people over 15 — are "regular alcoholics." Like most Warsaw Pact governments, Poland's relies for much of its revenue (18 percent) on sales of alcohol through a state monopoly.

But in the Soviet Union, do not drink the water. As recently as 1985, 13 percent of all deaths (including infant mortality) resulted from dirty water.

Today socialism suffocates all forms of energy except one — social unrest. It is now conceivable that there could be, at last, a Russian revolution involving the masses. (The 1917 coup involved

only a few thousand Bolsheviks who seized the husk of the state.) To buy time and to seize a lifeline, Mr. Gorbachev needs a quick success, which can only come outside of his torpid country.

He has only been really (rather than rhetorically) radical in his foreign policy, and he could be even more so now with a dramatic roll of the diplomatic dice. He could propose a reunification of Germany deconstructed from both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. That proposal — all foreign troops out; no more NATO jets rattling apartment windows in training flights; no tanks on exercises clogging roads — would convulse West Germany. The German debate would end in a vote for the force now convulsing central Europe — nationalism.

The official Soviet line is that German reunification is unacceptable. But Communists, who talk much about species historical inevitabilities, should recognize a real one. East Germany is a Potemkin regime, an ideological construction with roots not an inch deep in the soil.

Talking to the Financial Times of London, East Germany's leader Egon Krenz ("I am not an alcoholic" said: "Socialism as an idea, as a system of society, is the only alternative to the capitalist system of capitalism. What we plan is not a path between socialism and capitalism but a path of real socialism.")

It is demerited to talk like that while the citizenry of East Germany clamors for democracy and prosperity — what West Germany has and socialism cannot deliver. But Mr. Krenz is no more surreal than Mr. Gorbachev, who this week reiterated the old rubbish about the unworthiness of capitalism and the inevitability of the Communist Party's "leading role" — leading an entire nation beyond mere material deprivation and into biological ruin.

Mr. Gorbachev is now miles behind the East European revolutions he helped to trigger. On the two most important domestic questions — disestablishment of the party, establishment of rational pricing — he is paralyzed. He can only be radical in foreign affairs, and nothing could be more radical than buying the dissolution of NATO, a goal of Soviet foreign policy for 40 years, at the price of a unified, nonaligned Germany.

NATO has always been an instrument of what has been called "double containment" — strategic containment of the Soviet Union and the political and economic containment of West Germany. However, Mr. Gorbachev might hope, yes, hope — that a unified Germany would again turn its prodigious energies toward the east, but this time as an economic locomotive powerful enough to pull even the Soviet economy forward.

This would be, for Mr. Gorbachev, a desperate gamble. But if he is rational, he is desperate.

Washington Post Writers Group.

## Bashing Comes Too Naturally

By Jay Mathews

LOS ANGELES — With the U.S. Congress about to fund reparations for Japanese-Americans forced into World War II relocation camps, there is a temptation to pronounce an end to the mindless American prejudice of the past in this new era of Pacific rim trade and prosperity.

The United States still has its problems with the Japanese, of course. Their aggressive real estate purchases push up prices in already inflated U.S.

## MEANWHILE

markets. Their import barriers against American agricultural products handicap U.S. efforts to reduce the trade deficit.

Such complaints, Americans tell themselves, are fair, nonracial comment, a part of the usual give and take of international trade and diplomacy. Even the publicity given the Mitsubishi Estate Company's plan to purchase a controlling interest in the company that owns Rockefeller Center in New York seems at first an understandable reaction to the foreign takeover of a national symbol.

But Americans have become accustomed to overlooking the way they put different foreigners in different mental and emotional cubbyholes. The Rockefeller Center deal provides a good example. The news of the purchase produced a veritable spasm of media coverage. This might seem normal whenever a foreigner buys a particularly noticeable piece of America. But consider the very different reaction to a foreign takeover of even greater magnitude — and comparable symbolic weight — less than three months before the Japanese

snapped up America's most famous skating rink. The Holiday Inn chain, with 10 percent of America's hotels and motels, has often called itself "the nation's innkeeper." Its green-and-yellow signs are emblems of American life at least as familiar as the Christmas tree and swirling skaters at Rockefeller Center.

On Aug. 24, Holiday Inn announced the planned sale of its 1,400 outlets to Bass PLC, a British brewer and hotel operator, for \$2.23 billion, twice the amount of the Rockefeller Center deal. Bass had already purchased the right to franchise Holiday Inn outside the United States, and it added the colossal deal to a series of transactions that have made Britain — not Japan — the largest foreign property holder in the United States.

The news about Holiday Inn had almost all the elements of the Rockefeller Center story — a friendly foreign takeover of a national symbol, and a giant overseas corporation growing even larger. (Mitsubishi Estate is Japan's largest real estate firm; Bass is Britain's, and now the world's, largest hotel operator.)

But as far as major news organizations were concerned, the British purchase was not nearly as interesting. The Center for Media and Public Affairs in Washington could find no mention of the Holiday Inn announcement on any of the evening network news programs. The New York Times ran a story on its financial page. The Washington Post did the same, but did not bother to assign a staff writer, using an Associated Press story instead. Larry Ellis of The Post's news library printed out for me all stories of less than 3,000 words about either event compiled by Lexis Nexis and some other services: The Rockefeller Center stories



filled 137 pages, the Holiday Inn stories only 43. Deciding what will and will not receive space and time in America's newspapers and on television is a visceral exercise carried out by men and women who, although fallible, have a fairly good grasp of popular tastes and fears. Many intangible factors make one story more newsworthy than another. Despite the many similarities between the Japanese and the British purchases, the Mitsubishi deal might have drawn more attention than otherwise because it directly affected New York, America's media center. But can any fair-minded television producer argue that if a Japanese company had purchased Holiday Inn, it would not have made the evening news? Or if a British firm had bought Rockefeller Center, would so many

columnists have been moved to assess the deal's impact on the American psyche?

We non-Asian Americans will continue to raise our eyebrows or shake our heads whenever the Japanese score a noteworthy economic triumph. There is no way to prevent that, and probably not much harm will come of it if we keep in mind how much of our reaction is based on an ancient prejudice against people who don't look like us.

What we don't pay attention to often tells as much about us as what catches our eye. Forty-seven years ago, we thought so much about the threat of sabotage by millions of Americans of German or Italian descent that we did this summer about Holiday Inn acquiring a British accent.

The Washington Post.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## No End of Ideologies

Regarding "As Ideologies Die, the Historical Analogies Rise" (Opinion, Nov. 10):

While it is true that Marxism-Leninism is fortunately losing its allure and its grip, the world has an abundance of other ideologies that could provide the kindling for tomorrow's conflicts. The Arab-Israeli conflict is as ideological as it is political. Given the fervor exhibited by so many in this dispute, it promises to keep the region volatile for the indefinite future.

China's Communist government could be overthrown in the coming years, but to believe that China would then enter peacefully into the liberal democratic fold is to ignore a cultural heritage that predates communism.

These two examples are merely the beginning of a long list. The challenges we face is to keep ideological conflicts confined to the intellectual battlefields of the

mind, where they are a positive force helping us learn, and to prevent them from spilling over into the human killing fields that have so scarred our history.

GREG A. MANIATIS, Paris.

## South Africa and Namibia

Regarding "Elections in Namibia: South Africa Has Cheated" (Opinion, Nov. 9):

The article states that South Africa fears a strongly independent, majority-ruled nation on its borders. Apart from wondering how else one could describe Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland or Mozambique, it should surely be obvious that South Africa has more to gain from independent, economically viable neighbors who do not blame it, or the nations of the West, for the problems they have encountered during independence. Only on this basis can a real partnership in southern Africa be developed.

The article says that the greatest threat to elections has come from the security forces. This omits the fact that the greatest threat to the independence process came on the very first day with SWAPO-organized incursions from Angola.

While Security Council Resolution 643 is quoted as reiterating demands for the disbanding of paramilitary and ethnic forces as well as Koevoet and the

dismantling of their command structures, the article fails to record the UN secretary-general's statement that these demands were all fully met.

Namibian church leaders and international monitors are quoted as saying that officials in charge of voter registration were responsible for extensive delays and harassment. In fact, all their work was carried out under the supervision of the UN Transition Assistance Group, UNTAG, which expressed itself as satisfied both with the rate of registration and the manner in which it was carried out.

Some 80 percent of the electorate cast votes during the first three days of voting, a figure exceeding the most optimistic expectation. The number of invalid votes cast on the first day was 126 (0.18 percent), hardly compatible with the article's allegations that thousands of registration cards were mislabeled.

The allegation that South Africa has ignored its obligation to repeal all race and security laws "affecting the election" is as without foundation as most of the others in the article. In fact, long before April 1 South African officials had been negotiating with legal advisers to UNTAG to identify all legislation which could inhibit free and fair elections. This legislation was repealed by the administrator-general in good time.

The South African government has indicated that it will abide by the results of the election. At no stage did the UN secretary-general's special representative indicate that the steps taken before the polls opened jeopardized them.

A more evenhanded treatment would have commended the efforts made by a dedicated band of South African and Namibian officials to ensure that the process leading up to the elections was completed on terms favorable to all inhabitants, not just one single party.

JEREMY B. SHEARER, South African Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York.

## The Dutch Did It

Regarding "Adapting to Global Greenhouse" (Science, Nov. 16):

The article gives the impression that Dutch dike technology has developed "in the last 30 years." It has been going on for more than three centuries. Has the writer never heard the Dutch boast that "God made the world but the Dutch made Holland," or the story about the little boy who plugged a hole in the dike with his finger?

And I wonder who the experts are who say that Indonesia and Bangladesh "simply do not have the resources" to do

what the Dutch did in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries — when there were no rich nations to help the Dutch, and no greater power available than that supplied by men and a few horses.

J. SOMERHAUSEN, Brussels.

## Understanding Epilepsy

Regarding "Buddy Bell's All-Star Saga: 18 Seasons of Epilepsy and Ignorance" (Sports, Nov. 11):

As an epileptic, I have participated in sports and coached. I always tell people I am an epileptic so they won't be surprised if I have a seizure, which can be a frightening experience for all concerned.

I am currently living and working in Tunisia as a Peace Corps volunteer. When I applied for the corps and stated that I had epilepsy I was relegated to a mere 15 countries, of 66 that the Peace Corps serves, and several of those would only allow me to work in their capitals. However, the 1980s are much kinder than the 1950s, when many epileptics were put in mental institutions.

Epilepsy is one of the most common ailments to afflict people worldwide. People like Mr. Bell bring a better understanding of this affliction.

KEITH HOEKEMP, Beni Mitr, Tunisia.

From Fortress Europe and  
Giant Japan to the US and  
Super 301.(Trade and Protectionism:  
A Special Business Report)

Last year, the value of world merchandise exports amounted to over 2.5 trillion dollars with trade in services worth billions more. The expansion of world trade continually outstrips the growth of world output. But, to what extent is this international exchange — and the consequent opening up of economies and markets — under threat?

- \* What will the development of the EC towards 1992 imply for the trading system? Are outsiders right to worry about a "Fortress Europe"?
- \* Will Super 301 be successful in opening markets? Conversely, could it turn out to be substantially damaging to world trade relations?
- \* Is there really a trend away from multilateralism and towards bilateralism? Does it matter?
- \* Will the Strategic Impediments Initiative lead to significant change in the Japanese distribution system? Or is it merely an attempt to contain protectionist pressure in the US?
- \* Does economic and political reform in the Communist Bloc promise significant trading opportunities? Or perhaps fierce competition for Western producers?

**Trade and Protectionism** is a Special Business Report which addresses these and other key issues by analysing the structure of the international trading system, the theory and reality of protectionism, the trade issues in key industrial sectors, and the trade policies of the most important players. The study is designed to brief the business reader rapidly in all key aspects of this significant and topical issue.

**Trade and Protectionism** costs £285. Please fill out the form below to order your copy.



PLEASE SEND ME A COPY OF TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM: A SPECIAL BUSINESS REPORT.

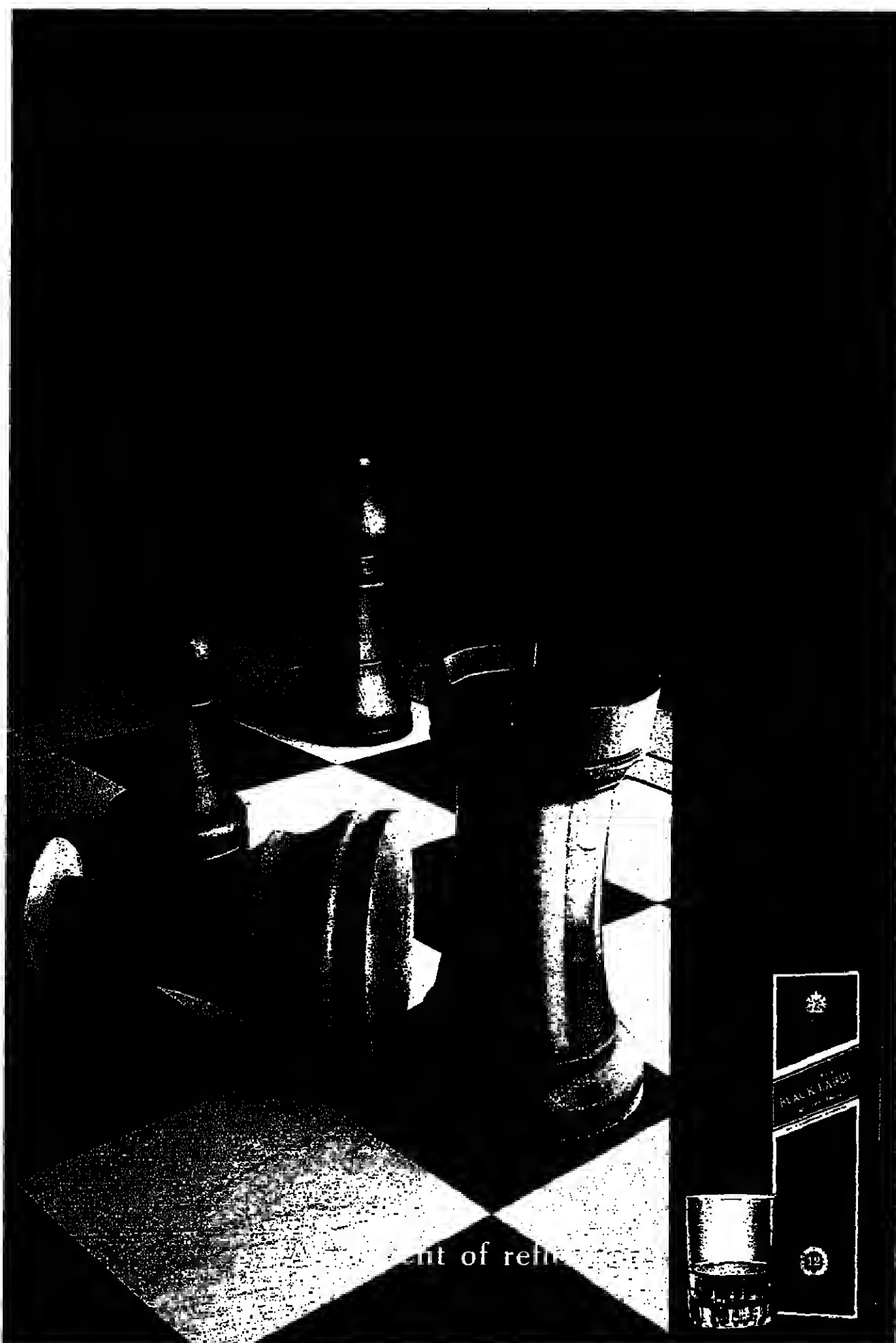
NAME \_\_\_\_\_ TITLE \_\_\_\_\_

COMPANY \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

POSTCODE \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_ 30-11-89

TO: OXFORD ANALYTICA INC. 91A HIGH STREET, OXFORD, OX1 4BJ, ENGLAND.





## Japan Won't Widen Trade With Soviets

**Reuters**  
**TOKYO**—Japan and the Soviet Union agreed Wednesday to continue minor trade agreements but Tokyo refused to open talks on an overall long-term economic cooperation treaty with Moscow.

In flat language, it means the Japanese have no intention to do this, a Foreign Ministry official said. His comments followed two days of trade and economic talks.

You are encountering difficulties in perestroika, which is at a threshold, Deputy Foreign Minister Koji Watanabe told Soviet economic officials. That is why we cannot always meet all of your requests.

But we welcome the positive and enthusiastic state of political dialogue between the two countries.

Since the 1970s, the Kremlin has been asking Japan to conclude a long-term treaty to carry out joint development of resources and infrastructure in the Soviet Union.

Japan has refused to open talks on such a broad treaty, saying the two countries must first improve political ties, including the signing of a peace treaty formally ending World War II.

On the first day of the annual talks on the deputy minister level, the Soviet deputy minister for external economic relations, Venyamin Kolosov, assured Japan there was no turning back on perestroika, the Soviet Union's domestic economic restructuring program.

Soviet-Japanese trade was a record \$5.9 billion last year, but was only one-third of Japan's trade with China.

Senior Soviet Foreign Ministry officials are to visit Tokyo next month for a meeting on territorial issues, the key to the conclusion of a peace treaty and better ties.

At the heart of the issues is a 44-year dispute over some of the group of islands north of Japan claimed by Tokyo and held by the Soviet Union since the end of the war. They are called the Kuril Islands by the Soviet Union and the Northern Territories by Japan.

Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze goes to Tokyo in March to prepare for the visit in 1991 of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the first by a Soviet leader to Japan.



Fifteen Vietnamese who fled to the Philippines earlier this year being returned Wednesday in the first such repatriation by Manila.

## Hong Kong Backs Refugee Expulsions

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**HONG KONG**—The legislature passed a motion Wednesday urging the forced return of Vietnamese refugees, and several lawmakers condemned U.S. opposition to the idea.

The motion by the British colony's Legislative Council, approved overwhelmingly by voice vote, reflected the strong local sentiment to expel nearly 57,000 Vietnamese who have been confined to squalid detention centers after fleeing their Communist homeland by boat.

"Mandatory repatriation is a must, and it should have been implemented yesterday," a lawmaker, Rita Fan, said during the debate. The measure does not have the force of law but rather was a resolution backing Britain's effort to secure an agreement for repatriation with Vietnam.

London's ambassador to Hanoi, Emrys Davies, said Tuesday that more than 100 Vietnamese were on a list of refugees to be forcibly

repatriated from Hong Kong before the end of the year. It would be the first group of Vietnamese to be sent back against their will.

Mr. Davies, who rejected the term "forced," said in an interview in Hanoi that the British-Vietnamese accord on repatriation was agreed to in principle during a visit to London by the Vietnamese foreign minister, Nguyen Co Thach, in June.

Vietnam's official news agency stated that Vietnam continues to reject forced repatriation but will work toward reaching a settlement "on the basis of respect for the humanitarian spirit."

A senior British official in Hong Kong was quoted by the Press Association, the domestic British news agency, as saying the barrier to a final agreement was simply technical.

"I see the statement as expected and predictable," said the official, who was not identified. "It is the wording they are quibbling about."

The main hurdle appears to be the problem of monitoring the repatriation plan, a task that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has refused to carry out.

Members on both sides of Parliament accused the government on Wednesday of offering "blood money" to Vietnam for the refugees.

David Alton, a Liberal Democrat who planned to raise the issue in a House of Commons debate later, said, "For each refugee returned, the Vietnamese will receive \$400 a head in blood money." The amount is equal to \$625, Mr. Alton was referring to widespread reports that Britain has agreed to pay resettlement aid to the Vietnamese for each person sent back.

"Repatriation, backed up by the crude use of force, is an odious policy," Mr. Alton said. "It contrasts starkly with our attitude towards Eastern European economic refugees."

The nearly 12,000 Vietnamese in

Hong Kong camps who arrived before June 1988 automatically received refugee status and will be resettled overseas.

But under a new policy, the more than 44,000 people who sailed into the colony later are considered illegal immigrants unless they can prove they fled political or religious persecution.

Of the nearly 7,000 screened, only 687 have been granted refugee status.

The United States has been a vocal opponent of forced repatriation, saying conditions first must improve in Vietnam.

Some British lawmakers attributed Washington's position to a "guilty conscience," an allusion to the U.S. role in the Vietnam War.

"There is no reason for the United States to oppose mandatory repatriation of illegal immigrants when they are practicing this every day at the U.S.-Mexican border," said Allen Lee, a member of the British Parliament. (AP, AFP)

## U.S. Ceases Work On Nuclear Dump To Start From Zero

By Matthew L. Wald

New York Times Service

**NEW YORK**—U.S. officials say that the government, because it lacks confidence in its work thus far, has abandoned a two-year, \$500 million effort to plan the nation's only dump for highly radioactive nuclear waste, at a site in the Nevada desert. It has decided to start over.

The decision delays until at least 2010, and probably longer, the opening of a repository for the spent fuel of more than 110 civilian nuclear reactors around the country, as well as huge quantities of waste from weapons production.

Three decades after nuclear power began to be used for electricity, the government still has no repository for the spent fuel. Many civilian reactors have already run out of space. They have had to resort to temporary storage systems for wastes that will be dangerously radioactive for thousands of years.

The announcement is thus a blow to those who want to build a new generation of nuclear reactors. The government's failure to find a way to dispose of the wastes gives opponents of such plants major ammunition. A California law now bars construction of new reactors before a waste solution is demonstrated.

The Department of Energy was ordered in a 1982 law to open a repository by 1998. It has been harshly criticized by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency and the U.S. Geological Survey as well as experts outside the government for its efforts to demonstrate that Yucca Mountain, 100 miles (about 160 kilometers) northwest of Las Vegas, is a suitable site.

Disclosing the decision, John Tuck, undersecretary of energy, said Tuesday night that the energy secretary, James D. Watkins, had decided to start over because of "dissatisfaction" with earlier assessments of the site.

The new announcement is the latest in a 20-year saga of failed efforts to find a way to dispose of spent nuclear fuel. In 1967, when

Congress decided to concentrate on the Yucca site, Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Democrat of Louisiana, said, "It's fair to say we've solved the nuclear waste problem."

It appears that the nation now faces two nuclear waste problems. Because of the delay, Mr. Tuck said, the department will seek congressional permission to open an interim storage site in some other part of the United States for the wastes from civilian reactors.

The department decided earlier this year to make a similar fresh start on evaluation at the Waste Isolation Pilot Project, near Carlsbad, New Mexico, which is intended to hold plutonium-contaminated waste from bomb production.

Construction is mostly complete, but doubts remain about the design of the work and local geology.

Although the new plan for Yucca calls for opening the repository in 2010, Mr. Tuck said the new date was only a guideline. "We will not be driven by dates," he said.

He took care to stress that the department was not committed to building the waste site at Yucca Mountain, but merely to ascertaining whether the site was suitable.

An outside expert, Dan W. Reicher, a lawyer at the Natural Resources Defense Council, said he thought the announcement "this week showed that the department was 'finally facing up to the technical and political reality of the situation.'"

"There was an overwhelming amount of distrust about the adequacy of their technical work."

Some scientists fear that the waste could leak into water supplies, and from there into produce and animal feed. If this happened, the contamination could eventually cause cancer in humans.

The department is committed by contracts with utilities to begin accepting wastes in 1998. Under those contracts, the utilities are paying one-tenth of a cent per kilowatt-hour of electricity made in their reactors for a permanent repository. It is not clear who would pay for an interim site.

## Japan and Taiwan Reject Ban on Drift-Net Fishing

United Press International

**WELLINGTON**—Japan and Taiwan intend to ignore a ban on the use of drift nets for fishing, a technique that threatens to deplete some forms of marine life in the South Pacific, officials said.

The ban, confirmed Friday at the end of a five-day meeting here of 20 South Pacific nations, was reaffirmed Tuesday at the conclusion of a three-day meeting.

Drift nets, about 50 kilometers long, snare commercial fish species but also trap birds, marine mammals and other fish.

At this point we have no intention of stopping," said the Japanese delegation chief, Koji Yamamura.

Japan has reduced its drift-net fleet in the South Pacific by two-thirds, to 20 vessels, and Taiwan promised last week to similarly reduce its fleet.

The five-day conference ended with a confident prediction by Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer of New Zealand that drift-net fishing in the South Pacific was coming to an end.

When questioned about Japan's and Taiwan's refusal to accept the ban, Mr. Palmer said, "That doesn't matter. The pressure on them has been very intense."

It is regional solidarity that is the vital success here," he said.

Swissair Customer Portrait 18, photographed by Isabel Snyder.



Dieter Meier, producer, Zurich. Masterminded "Yello," the internationally acclaimed pop group. He unabashedly admits to being a family man at heart. Finally gave in to his children's supplications to discover the excitement of Florida. Likes the concerted interaction between Swissair and Delta Air Lines, teamwork that makes vacations start even before takeoff.

## General Aims for Democracy In Guinea, a Rarity in Africa

By Kenneth B. Noble

New York Times Service

**CONAKRY, Guinea**—When General Lansana Conté seized power in Guinea five years ago, he vowed to restore law and order to a nation that had endured nearly three decades of nightmarish repression, purges and bloodshed.

It was a promise that few believed. General Conté, a colonel at the time, had been the highest-ranking military officer during the final years of President Sékou Touré's tyrannical 26-year leadership.

Cynics gumbled that the new president was probably deeply involved in many of the horrors that he, by then, professed to abhor.

But now, many of those critics are being won over. After years in which Guinea was a Soviet-aligned, one-party state, General Conté is working to transform it into that rarest of African political systems—a multiparty democracy.

That hope was raised by an announcement last month that the military leaders would permit new, competing parties to form.

What is more, General Conté promised a new constitution, regular elections, an independent judiciary and a bill of rights, and he held out the prospect of having his own military rule replaced by a civilian government.

In a recent speech, he said he could "guarantee" that there would be "no coups" during a five-year transition to constitutional rule.

The military, he said, would "do everything so that Guinea is not like other nations."

"We won't cling to power," he said.

"I'm very bullish on this place," said Samuel E. Lupo, the U.S. ambassador in Conakry.

He described the Guinean president as a man "with a very significant vision for the future."

But an African envoy sounded a cautionary note: "If he pulls it off, it'll be the political miracle of the decade. And most of us are praying that he can do it."

While offering political changes, General Conté has embarked on an ambitious program of economic rehabilitation that follows the World Bank's free-market requirements.

State-run collective farms have been eliminated, and producer prices have been allowed to rise.

The national currency, the syli, was devalued to about 7 percent of its former level, bringing it closer to the black-market exchange rate.

And, by laying off about 30,000 civil servants, the government has started to convert budget deficits into surpluses.

The gross domestic product—the total output of goods and services, minus income from operations abroad—grew by roughly 6 percent in 1987 and about 5 percent in 1988.

Foreign donors, impressed by the economic and political turnaround, have responded with an outpouring of aid: \$286 million in commitments in 1988, or roughly double the level of 1984.

"They're almost to where they started in 1958, and that's real progress in this context," a European diplomat said.

Indeed, 1958 is an important date in the mythology that has shaped Guinea's self-image, the touchstone against which everything is measured.

In that year, Guineans rejected President Charles de Gaulle's plan for self-government under a system that retained association with France, opting for independence.

By most accounts, it is also the year that Guinea's problems began.

The French, affronted by Mr. Touré's demand for immediate independence, determined to make Guinea an example.

Within days, all 4,000 French colonial administrators and technicians were pulled out.

As they departed, they took with them everything they could carry or ship—including archives, maps, telephones, medicine, shoes, even toilet seats.

In response, Mr. Touré relied more and more on speedbunking and ideology to fill the gaps.

At first, he sought help from Western countries other than France, but when this aid dried up, he turned to the Soviet Union.

Although the Guinean leader said he was leading the country toward self-reliance, his rule turned increasingly ruthless.

Thousands of political dissenters were arrested and sent to detention camps. Many were tortured.

According to the World Bank, Guineans have a life expectancy of 42 years, among the world's lowest.

Still, the word commonly heard in Guinea is "potential."

## Beijing Orders Press to Toe the Party Line

Reuters

**BEIJING**—Chinese press organizations must proclaim the official line and fight subversive Western ideas, the Communist Party leader, Jiang Zemin, told national editors summoned here to take part in the sternest ideological crackdown since the 1970s.

State radio and television on Wednesday quoted Mr. Jiang as severely rebuking editors who had supported the student-led democ-

racy movement, which gripped China from April to June.

Since then, news organizations had been "turned around," Mr. Jiang said, meaning that editors and reporters had either been dismissed or had made self-criticisms and bowed to the party's will.

But, he added, some people were still actively supporting "bourgeois liberalism." The term is party jargon for what the party considers subversive Western political ideas.

"The party must strengthen its leadership over the media," he was quoted as saying at the conference.

Party officials, he said, should "strengthen inspection" of articles and programs before their release and the press must follow the party's directions.

During the unrest, he added, editors had made the mistake of putting people above the party.

Hundreds of journalists and editors—from small dailies to the enormous central television network and the Xinhua news agency—took part in street protests last May in calling for press freedom.

For a brief period, many otherwise dull newspapers carried lively and critical reporting.

But since the army crushed the mass movement in June with heavy loss of life, the party has reasserted its authority by dismissing executives at several newspapers.

**International Herald Tribune**  
 Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post  
 Edited in Paris TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1989 Printed in New York

## HEADING FOR NORTH AMERICA?

You Can Now Receive Same-Day Delivery of The Global Newspaper in Key American Cities.

To subscribe call us toll-free in the U.S.: 1-800-882-2884.

(In New York, call: 212-752-2880.)

Or write: International Herald Tribune, 650 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Or Telex: 427175, Or Fax: 212-752-8785.

## AUTHORS WANTED BY N.Y. PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types, fiction, non-fiction, poetry, science, scholarship and religious works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free booklet M.I. Vantage Press, 316 W. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10001 U.S.A.

هكذا من الأصل



## SCIENCE

## Recent Advances Offer Hope in Treating Sickle Cell Disease

By Warren E. Leary

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — After years of slow, steady progress against sickle cell disease, scientists have recently reported a flurry of research advances and potential new treatments for the crippling blood disorder.

With laboratories around the world reporting tantalizing initial results in test-tube and animal studies of drugs, the scientists say they may have reached a turning

point in their battle against the hereditary disease, which afflicts millions around the world.

The disease is characterized by an abnormal form of hemoglobin, the oxygen-carrying protein of red blood cells, which causes the cells to stiffen, distort into odd shapes and clog blood vessels.

"We don't want to overstate the progress or give premature hope to sickle cell patients, but we're on the edge of making some real progress in treatment," said Dr. Clarence

Reid, chief of the sickle cell branch at the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute.

In the United States, the disease primarily affects blacks, but variations of it are seen in whites of Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and East Indian descent.

New hope about treating sickle cell comes from a multi-pronged attack on the disease.

Doctors have begun clinical trials of a drug, hydroxyurea, that increases the body's production of

a type of hemoglobin that resists sickling.

New drugs are being tested that interfere with the structure of sickle cell hemoglobin, blocking it from becoming inflexible.

Several chemicals are under investigation that affect blood cell surface membranes and blood vessel linings. Researchers hope they will lead to ways to interfere with vessel clogging.

Scientists say they are completing development of a genetic-

ly altered mouse that could be used in research and serve as the first true animal model for the disease.

Dr. Alan N. Schechter, a sickle cell and hemoglobin researcher at the National Institutes of Health, said that with an animal that is able to develop the disease, researchers could test possible therapies, including transplanting normal hemoglobin genes into sick animals or trying numerous drug strategies.

Dr. Lennette J. Benjamin, a sickle cell researcher and assistant pro-

fessor of medicine at Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York, said there has been enormous progress in understanding the genetics of sickle cell disease and in looking at potential ways to cure it.

The most promising drug research involves hydroxyurea, a prescription product normally used to treat leukemia patients. Six medical centers have begun a three-year clinical trial with sickle cell patients using the drug.

Early tests at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore and elsewhere indicated the chemical increased production of a type of hemoglobin found in fetuses and newborns.

Dr. Samuel Charache, Dr. George J. Dover and associates at Johns Hopkins said the hydroxyurea treatment appears to be a form of gene therapy, because it apparently switches on the gene responsible for production of fetal hemoglobin.

This fetal hemoglobin, which is produced in only minute amounts in adults, has been associated with a symptom-free form of sickle cell disease.

"Our goal is to produce a milder form of sickle cell disease in adults by increasing the levels of fetal hemoglobin," Dr. Charache said. "The treatment works very well for some patients and not at all for others, but we don't know why. All of this is somewhat exciting, but we are trying to be cautious."

## High-Definition TV: Can U.S. Take Lead?

(Continued from page 1)

neary lost, and that even if the United States came up with an innovative design for a high-definition television, few companies would be able to make HDTVs now. They note that Zenith is the last large American company still in the television business.

The race for high-definition television is considered important by some experts because the technology may represent more than a path to sparkling images and sound as good as that on compact discs. Some experts see it creating a wide variety of new uses, including video systems for education, industry, medical imaging and the military.

Moreover, the technology is so demanding electronically, requiring scores of advanced new computer chips, that it is seen as a new driving force for the semiconductor industry, potentially providing greater demand than computers.

"The companies and countries that control the development of HDTV will have a huge lead in the coming competition for leadership in the electronics world," Representative Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, chairman of the House subcommittee on telecommunications, recently said in opening a hearing on HDTV.

Other experts disagree, saying the importance of the field has been exaggerated. Japan has long led the field, having embarked on HDTV research 20 years ago and investing an estimated \$1 billion. European governments and com-

panies over the last five years have spent about \$200 million. Spending in the United States is estimated at less than \$100 million.

Both Europe and Japan have based their efforts on the development of analog systems that use wavelike transmission signals. These signals can easily be disrupted by static. Moreover, they are broadcast by satellites (Japan has one in orbit and Europe will soon) and are therefore not available to regular television viewers.

Satellite transmissions aimed at a small geographic area or nation are relatively easy to accomplish. But experts say they cannot rival the economic advantages of terrestrial broadcasting that allows local programming and local advertising.

Several of the 20 or so American systems now under development are partly based on digital transmission, and scientists at schools like Columbia and MIT are racing to see how far digital technology can go in the search for the perfect television picture.

The basic goal of high-definition television is to increase the number of lines in a television picture, thus sharpening it. Today's television pictures in the United States and Japan are composed of 525 scanning lines, while those in Europe have 625. HDTV proposals call for various numbers of lines: 787, 1,050, 1,125 or 1,250.

The challenge is not just the making of high-quality picture tubes. It also is devising a way to process and transmit all the extra

information that is needed to animate the added scanning lines.

Last year, the Federal Communications Commission ruled that new U.S. HDTV systems would not be allowed to make the nation's existing 160 million TV sets obsolete. That means broadcasters must give viewers the standard signal and, if they choose, the new HDTV signal for those who have special sets to receive it.

In addition, the agency ruled that HDTV broadcasters must operate in the same wavelength range as older sets because the electromagnetic spectrum was considered too crowded to appropriate a new area.

The solution is signal compression. It relies heavily on digital processing, which breaks the analog signals from a camera into digital pulses that are sliced, diced and rearranged with high precision.

In a technique known as conditional replenishment, a series of images is digitally analyzed and only new features are transmitted, such as those that show an object moving. The static background is sent only once. Another technique reduces the data flow even further by taking into account that the human eye perceives fewer details on a moving object than a stationary one.

Both Europe and Japan do some of this kind of digital signal compression. But then they switch back to analog signals for transmission to television sets, since that was the accepted approach when they started their work.

The advantage of digital transmission is error reduction. Electronic flaws, called noise, that invade an analog signal are sometimes nearly impossible to differentiate from the signal itself. But since a digital signal is made up of a string of simple pulses, noise stands out and is easily removed.

Similar techniques of digital transmission are how deep-space probes send back stunning photos like those Voyager 2 recently radioed from Neptune.

"Digital communication by definition has higher fidelity," Mr. Newman said.

In addition, by going directly from digital processing to digital transmission, rather than switching back to analog, "You skip a step of processing, which improves performance and makes it more cost effective," said John I. Taylor, a Zenith spokesman.

The problem is that digital transmission is still only experimental. Researchers have tried over-the-air digital radio broadcasts, but are just starting to tackle the challenges of over-the-air digital television.

Zenith, which recently decided to sell its personal computer business and focus on high-definition television, is one of the pioneers of digital transmission of HDTV. Its proposed signal is a hybrid, part analog and part digital. The digital portion includes low-frequency pulses, transmitting not only digital HDTV signals to homes, but other types of information, including high-speed computer data.

contains high-frequency video information, which helps make up the picture.

An important advantage of this approach, Zenith says, is a vast reduction in the power needed for the broadcasting transmitter.

This power reduction, in turn, allows Zenith's HDTV signal to use the channels that usually are empty in crowded city television markets. Because analog signals are so strong, they can be broadcast only by skipping channels between them to reduce interference.

Scientists say proposals like Zenith's are but the first step on the digital highway, and that the transmission journey might be complete within a decade.

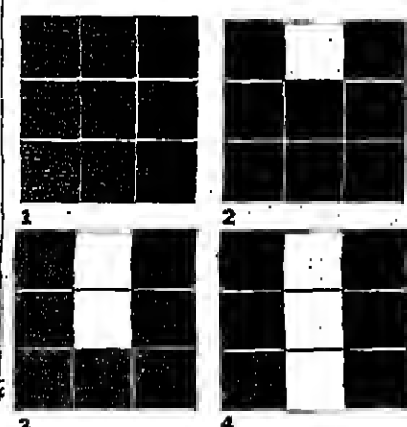
"Over the air, if you can receive it, digital will have the advantage of being perfect," Mr. Anastassiou said. He noted that there were a host of challenges, and potential solutions, to the goal.

It will be at least two years before the Federal Communications Commission decides on standards for over-the-air HDTV broadcasts. Some options under study would make it easier to extend the digital range; others would make it harder.

Some scientists say a better digital route is through a national network of glass fibers that connect homes. Such fibers can carry enormous amounts of digital information in the form of laser-light pulses, transmitting not only digital HDTV signals to homes, but other types of information, including high-speed computer data.



Producing Sharper Pictures With Less Data



A television image is produced when a beam of electrons repeatedly scans the screen, illuminating tiny pixels. Because high-definition television has more scanning lines, it needs more data than can be transmitted over normal broadcast channels. A new technique, conditional replenishment, gets around this problem by concentrating on the parts of the picture that are changing. The image is transmitted to a memory unit in the television set, which then transmits it to the screen. In the picture above, only the moving parts of the woman's head, shown as light areas, are transmitted. In the four sets of pixels at left, only one pixel changes in each step from 1 to 4.

## IN BRIEF

## Flaw in Cockroach Armor?

ST. LOUIS (AP) — A chemist has found a vulnerable spot in the shell of the cockroach, a discovery researchers hope to build on to change methods of exterminating the pest that has existed since prehistoric times.

Jacob Schaefer, a Washington University chemist, used nuclear magnetic resonance imaging to find the "cross-link" of a cockroach, where chemicals are produced to make the insect's ultra-hard exoskeleton. "Once formed, these bonds are permanent and very hard to break," he said. Dr. Schaefer said other members of his research team are trying to isolate the enzymes and metabolites that help make the structure. "They may be able to develop an inhibitor molecule,

one that thwarts the enzyme's mode of action," he said.

## Colon Cancer Drug

WASHINGTON (WP) — Animal studies show that a promising new drug is more lethal to human colon-cancer cells than any other drug. Science magazine reports. The drug, 9-amino camptothecin (9-AC), has proved highly effective in killing human colon-cancer cells transplanted into so-called nude mice, animals that lack an immune system and are routinely used to test drugs against tumors.

"It is more active than any other drug tested by a large margin," said Leroy F. Liu, a biological chemist at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and a co-author of the study.

Imagine your fate is entwined with that of a South American vine, or a fragile pink flower in far off Madagascar. If these plants were threatened with extinction, you would spring to their defence.



the rosy periwinkle, scourge of leukaemia.

What if we told you that many patients facing major surgery rely on a muscle relaxant extracted from an Amazonian vine, *Chondrodendron tomentosum*?

Or that 4 out of 5 children with leukaemia survive, thanks to the chemicals vincristine and vinblastine donated by the rosy periwinkle?

Would the fate of these plants still arouse your concern? If so, read on. It is essential that you be aroused beyond mere concern, to action.

Millions of people with heart ailments depend on foxgloves. These flowers provide the digoxin which regulates their heartbeat.

Many sufferers from hypertension and high blood pressure owe a debt to the Indian snakeroot shrub for its reserpine.



the Amazonian oak, a step nearer an AIDS vaccine.

Extracts from an Amazonian oak tree coagulate proteins, immensely helping scientists in their search for an AIDS vaccine.

People sleep deeply and breathe easily during operations thanks to scopolamine derived from mandrake, henbane and thornapples.

Cancer of the lung, kidney and testis responds to Etoposide, a drug synthesised from mayapples. The Penobscot Indians of Maine have long found mayapple useful against warts.

Women who take the contraceptive pill for granted would not be taking

it at all were it not for the yam. This large tuber is the source of the Pill's active ingredient, diosgenin.

Peprie ulcers heal faster thanks to the pale blue petals and flat brown pods of the liquorice flower, origu of carbenoxalone.

Even the healthiest among us take compounds first discovered in fragrant meadowsweet and willow bark and now known as aspirin.

Though these 13 plants have healed and soothed millions of people, they're but the merest sample from nature's medicine chest. Over a quarter of all prescribed medicines are based on plants.

Yet, of the estimated 250,000 flowering plants believed to be in existence, tens of thousands remain undiscovered and only some 5,000 have been tested exhaustively for their pharmaceutical attributes. Now this vast store of known and potential medicines is under threat and we are all of us obliged to protect it.

You see, half of the earth's species thrive in the warmth and wetness of tropical rainforests. Just ten square kilometres of Amazonian jungle contain some 2,200 species of plant (numbers of lower plants like lichen and fungi are incalculable, as is their value: Cyclosporin, a product of 2 kinds of fungi, has helped revolutionise transplant surgery in the last decade).

Man is destroying these rainforests. 40 hectares a minute. An area the size of Austria every year. Every day the bulldozing and polluting continues, countless lives are ruined, animal, bird, reptile, insect, not

to mention human. Every day, in the midst of this carnage, 5 plants silently become extinct.

Chance alone kept alive those plants mentioned above long enough for them to help us.

When plants die, other ecosystems follow

Who knows what weapons against cancer, heart disease, AIDS or afflictions yet to come were lost forever in today's batch of 5?

Join WWF - World Wide Fund For Nature and help reverse this process of destruction.

For almost 30 years WWF has lobbied governments and institutions, battling and educating in the name of conservation. What was once a worry about a few spectacular creatures is now a fight for man's survival.

Our latest battle plan covers 132 projects aimed at saving the earth's biological diversity, the intricate interdependence of ecosystems of which plants are the basis.

Join our fight. Help save the plants and organisms which ease the pain and save the lives of humans. Help with your money, your work, your voice.

Start by writing to the WWF National Organisation in your country or complete the form below and send it to WWF International, CH-1196 Gland, Switzerland, now.

It's do or die.

to mention human. Every day, in the midst of this carnage, 5 plants silently become extinct.

Chance alone kept alive those plants mentioned above long enough for them to help us.

When plants die, other ecosystems follow

Who knows what weapons against cancer, heart disease, AIDS or afflictions yet to come were lost forever in today's batch of 5?

Join WWF - World Wide Fund For Nature and help reverse this process of destruction.

For almost 30 years WWF has lobbied governments and institutions, battling and educating in the name of conservation. What was once a worry about a few spectacular creatures is now a fight for man's survival.

Our latest battle plan covers 132 projects aimed at saving the earth's biological diversity, the intricate interdependence of ecosystems of which plants are the basis.

Join our fight. Help save the plants and organisms which ease the pain and save the lives of humans. Help with your money, your work, your voice.

Start by writing to the WWF National Organisation in your country or complete the form below and send it to WWF International, CH-1196 Gland, Switzerland, now.

It's do or die.

WWF World Wide Fund For Nature

We need a further US\$60 million to fund these projects through the next 5 years. (Already we are supporting 100 projects dedicated to conserving rainforests, 50 to conserving wetlands and 82 devoted to the management of national parks.)

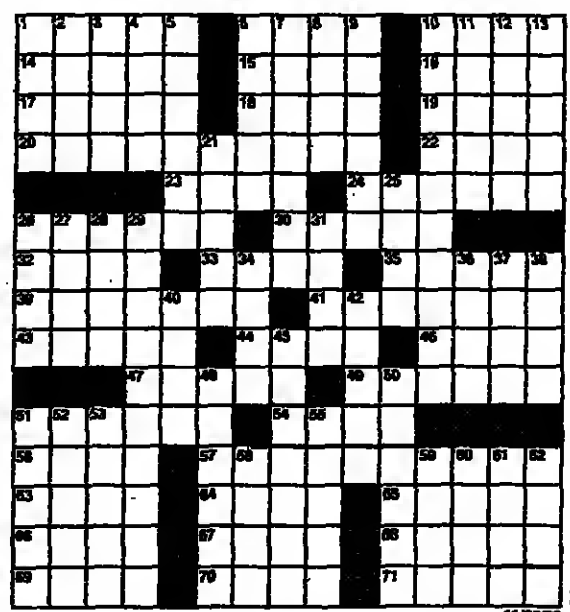
Join our fight. Help save the plants and organisms which ease the pain and save the lives of humans. Help with your money, your work, your voice.

Start by writing to the WWF National Organisation in your country or complete the form below and send it to WWF International, CH-1196 Gland, Switzerland, now.

It's do or die.

WWF World Wide Fund For Nature

- ACROSS**
- 1 Panstian's coin
  - 6 English furniture style
  - 10 Strikebreaker
  - 14 Lipike organs
  - 15 Plexus
  - 16 Invented
  - 17 "I loved" — Wither
  - 18 Feds
  - 19 — good nurse — Juliet
  - 20 An embroidery stitch
  - 22 Chesterfield or Byron
  - 23 American burbot
  - 24 Mount Saint
  - 26 Automobile response
  - 30 West Indian witchcraft
  - 32 Kirghizian mountain range
  - 33 China precursor
  - 35 Daytime TV operas
  - 39 Piebald
  - 41 Inherent
  - 43 — With Judy, 1948 film
  - 44 Star in Draco
  - 48 Hindu melody pattern
  - 47 English empiric philosopher
  - 49 Court target
  - 51 Recitation of prayers
  - 54 Architect — van der Rohe
  - 56 Yemeni, e.g.
  - 57 Minuscule
  - 63 Dorothy — in Oz books
  - 64 Czech river
- DOWN**
- 1 Part of many a pocket
  - 2 Rhonchus's cousin
  - 3 Blind as —
  - 4 — prius (trial court)
  - 5 Fastness
  - 6 Odorless gas
  - 7 Minor deity
  - 8 Solar disk
  - 9 Crème de —
  - 10 Short time after midnight
  - 11 Kayak
  - 12 Embellish
  - 13 Decompression sickness
  - 21 Sprite
  - 25 A.N.Y.C. river
  - 26 Hero of a Hindu epic
  - 27 Alleged electric force
  - 28 — morgana (mirage)
  - 29 Ursa Minor
  - 31 Bush people of French Guiana
  - 34 Bismarck's locale: Abbr.



© New York Times, edited by Eugene Maleska.

**Solution to Previous Puzzle**

DAFT RAVI REMIT ARIA  
OLEG CLONE YELP  
SETHS END FLAME  
RATATAT ALI  
AWASH MAGNET  
SWAT REO ATHENA  
EARTH DFC STRIP  
ANTHER SAV SODA  
STEELY ULEMA  
OLE NINEVEN  
ZEPP ODE NIXED  
ORLE EVANS NILE  
LIAR LEYTE GLEE  
ANNA INSET SEND

Please enroll me as a Friend of WWF International. I enclose:  
US\$50 ☐ US\$100 ☐ US\$250 ☐ US\$500 ☐ US\$1000 ☐  
(or equivalent in convertible currency)  
Please send me WWF News to keep me up to date with the fight to save biological diversity.

To: Membership Officer, WWF International, CH 1196 Gland, Switzerland  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Country \_\_\_\_\_







# CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

## MARKETING CONSULTANCY SAUDI ARABIA

### Basic package to US\$60,000 + substantial benefits

THIS MAJOR, ESTABLISHED financial institution in Riyadh, which provides finance for the development of the private industrial sector in the Kingdom, wishes to make two additional appointments to strengthen further the capabilities of the Marketing Division.

In both posts the key responsibility is the assessment, in marketing terms, of the viability of proposed industrial ventures, with a secondary requirement to provide marketing support and advice to established projects, and to participate in on-the-job training and development of Saudi nationals.

#### Marketing Consultant - FMCG

Currently, one of the fastest growing and most buoyant sectors of the economy is FMCG, with investments to date in excess of \$500 million, and considerable scope for further growth. The total market is growing rapidly, and its demographics changing significantly over time.

You must have a relevant degree and/or an MBA, and at least five years' progressive practical experience of the marketing of products gained with one or more blue-chip FMCG companies. Ideally, you will have had experience with a wide and varied product range, and some international marketing exposure. Ref: R2371/IHT.

#### Marketing Consultant - High Technology/Industrial Products

With the current industrial development in the Kingdom, it is anticipated that there will be rapid growth in investment in projects to manufacture a wide variety of high technology products. This is a new appointment to augment the in-house capability to evaluate proposed projects in this area.

Ideally, you will have an engineering degree supplemented by either a formal marketing qualification and/or an MBA. You must have substantial experience in marketing industrial products, including recent specific experience with one or more leading companies in the marketing of

engineering or high-technology products. Preferably, your experience will have covered a number of different product ranges, and have had some international marketing content.

Of particular relevance to both appointments would be previous involvement in the decision to launch a new product, or an existing product into a new market, where this required a commitment to expansion of production facilities. Ref: R2372/IHT.

Although both consultants will work within an established division with good marketing information support, personal qualities of initiative, judgement and perseverance, together with the ability to produce high-quality work to tight schedules, will be essential. Fluency in written and spoken English is essential, and clearly knowledge of Arabic would be an advantage.

These contract appointments, initially for two years and renewable by mutual agreement, represent a unique opportunity for both significant involvement in the Kingdom's industrial development at an industry/country-wide level and substantial capital accumulation.

In addition to the basic package, which consists of a basic salary of up to \$51,000 depending on level of relevant experience, plus guaranteed end-of-contract bonus and discretionary performance-related bonus, an excellent, comprehensive benefits package is offered, which includes - free housing \* leased car \* generous leave and travel provisions \* free medical treatment \* generous shipment and storage allowances \* free education at the excellent international school in Riyadh and/or off-post education allowances and student travel benefits \* first-class working environment and recreation facilities.

Interviews will be held in London, and in North America, in January. Candidates who meet the above requirements are invited to submit a detailed resume, indicating current compensation level, and quoting the appropriate reference, which will be forwarded direct to our client, PA Consulting Group, Advertising and Communications, Hyde Park House, 60a Knightsbridge, London SW1X 7LE.

**PA Consulting Group**

*Creating Business Advantage*

Executive Recruitment • Human Resource Consultancy • Advertising and Communications

## Director International Sales and Marketing

Industrial Products  
Irish Based

Our client is an independent subsidiary of a transnational group. The company is involved in the design, manufacture and worldwide marketing of a leading range of industrial products.

Based in Ireland, the Director - Sales and Marketing will carry corporate and functional responsibility at both strategic and operational levels. This latter role will require that the person appointed lead an experienced and sophisticated team both at the group's headquarters and in the field. A good deal of travel will be necessary.

The person we are seeking must be the consummate professional, probably from a background of technical sales with an impressive career progression to a senior level in a large organisation. Exposure to all aspects of marketing, from market research to distributor management,

is called for. An understanding of the importance of product and customer support, in an international setting, and excellent communication skills are essential.

The seniority of this appointment is such that the remuneration arrangements will be to European standards.

If you would like to be considered for this appointment please contact, in confidence, Tom Yeaton in Dublin at 01-806700 or write to him at

Price Waterhouse  
Executive Selection Consultants,  
Gardiner House,  
Wilson Place,  
Dublin 2,  
Republic of Ireland.

**Price Waterhouse**



## Senior Finance Officer

Our Client is a very large engineering and construction group undertaking multi-million pound projects. They will shortly have a vacancy for a senior member of staff with high technical skills in accountancy and finance.

The post is in South East England and encompasses responsibility for all the usual finance activities associated with the management of a large project. These include leading a dedicated team dealing with financial accounting, management accounting, cash management, taxation and payroll. Annual turnover is in the region of £500m.

The successful candidate should be capable of operating at the highest levels of the Company. He/She should preferably be accustomed to working within the

terms and conditions of a major engineering and construction project. The position requires an experienced professional, with good organisational skills. Knowledge of French would be useful but is not essential. The post offers an attractive salary with a generous range of benefits, including a fully expensed executive car, assistance with relocation and the normal pension and sick pay schemes.

Please send a curriculum vitae, in confidence with details of current salary, quoting ref: 767, to:  
**Beverly Langley,  
The Scott Edgar Advertising Partnership Ltd,  
Recruitment Division,  
52 Bedford Row,  
London WC1R 4LR.  
Telephone: 01-831 2981.**

THE

**SCOTT EDGAR**

ADVERTISING PARTNERSHIP LTD

## America's Data Communications Pioneer Is Europe's Hottest Career Opportunity.

General DataComm is one of the world's leading data communications suppliers. We've welded progressive thinking, innovative marketing, unmatched high tech capabilities and superior personnel into the most aggressive team in our field in the United States.

Right now, we're in the process of expanding our overseas market and we need outstanding players who want to make substantial personal gains with a company noted for fast-track career growth.

#### Sales Manager

Paris Based

If you have 10 years' high tech data communications sales experience and a degree in marketing or a related technical field, here's your chance to grab the ball and run.

You'll be responsible for sales accounts across southern Europe and in the Middle East. Our clients' communications network needs are waiting. We've got all the technical backing you'll need to work with them to implement the best solutions...if you've got the initiative to put it to profitable use.

#### Systems Engineers

Amsterdam or Paris Based

Does the challenge of problem-solving fire you up? This opportunity pos-

tions you between our sales staff and the customer in a consultative mode, finding answers to customer application problems using our state-of-the-art equipment as well as OEM devices.

You'll need an electrical, computer science or information science degree and the drive to make it work in the arena of international competition. Previous experience in pre-sales systems engineering is a must. In addition, fluency in English as well as French or German as a second language is required.

#### Systems Engineering Manager

Amsterdam or Paris Based

You'll oversee a team of aggressive sales support professionals in this key management slot. Five years' data communications experience, significant prior management responsibilities and a degree in electrical, computer science or information science will gain you consideration for this position.

You must speak English, although fluency in a second language (French or German) would be a strong plus. Verbal communication skills are imperative, as much of your responsibility will require facility with and confidence in making presentations to sophisticated audiences.

#### Marketing Manager

Amsterdam or Paris Based

This highly visible position carries the major responsibility for determining trends in the European data communications market and recommending to corporate headquarters the product line parameters necessary for GDC to maintain its overseas competitive edge. You'll have the opportunity to create working information-gathering relationships with PTTs, prominent companies and dominant financials while you continue day-to-day tactical work.

You should have at least 5 years' experience as a systems engineer combined with sound accomplishments in related marketing. In addition, excellent communication skills are a prime consideration as you'll be making presentations to highly-placed groups and individuals. The ability to command attention and respect is a must.

We're expanding the future of data communications in Europe. If you want a working part in that growth and a highly competitive salary/benefits package, please send your resume including salary requirements to the address below. Local interviews will be arranged for qualified candidates.

P.O. Box D-290, I.H.T. 181 Ave. Charles de Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France.



**General DataComm, Inc.**

*We're bolder and better than ever.*

An Equal Opportunity Employer M/F/H/V

## HEAD OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S LEGAL AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS OFFICE

£17,206 p.a.

The Head of Amnesty International's (AI's) Legal and Intergovernmental Organizations (IGO) Office, based at the International Secretariat in London, manages 14 staff including three Legal Advisers, a Coordinator of IGO work, and representatives at the United Nations (UN) in New York, and Geneva and at the European Communities in Brussels.

The Head supervises AI's work with the UN and other IGOs, including AI's cooperation with IGOs and contacts with governments in IGO forums. AI's participation at IGO meetings, AI's efforts to encourage development of international and regional standards and procedures to protect human rights, and AI's submission to IGOs of information on human rights.

The Head is also responsible for advising AI, particularly AI's research staff, concerning the proper and effective use of human rights standards, of international, comparative and national law; and of IGO procedures. S/he oversees AI's analysis of legislation and trial proceedings, and reviews draft papers about legal concerns in particular countries.

Candidates must have sound political judgement and a sensitivity to various political, cultural and legal traditions. They must have a very good understanding of the UN and regional IGOs, particularly their human rights work. A strong international law background, particularly in international human rights and humanitarian law, is essential. Familiarity with comparative and criminal law would be an asset.

Experience of, or a demonstrable ability in supervising staff is necessary. Fluent English is essential, as is the ability to communicate well in writing and orally. A good working knowledge of other languages, particularly French and/or Spanish, is highly desirable. The ability to work under pressure and to deadlines is essential, as is the ability to represent AI externally and to travel. Sensitivity to working in an international multicultural voluntary organization is essential.

Closing date for receipt of completed application forms 19 January 1990



For further information and an application form, write or phone  
Personnel Office, Amnesty International, International Secretariat,  
1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom. Tel: 01-857 5805  
24hr answerphone. Please quote ref: RD 24

### L'UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE

met au concours les deux poste suivants:  
- professeur ordinaire de linguistique et de philologie russes,  
- professeur ordinaire d'histoire de l'art et de l'architecture contemporains.

Postes à charge complète: 6 heures hebdomadaires de cours et de séminaires; direction de recherches.  
Titre exigé: doctorat en lettres ou titre équivalent (ex. Habilitation).

Entrée en fonction: 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1990 (1<sup>er</sup> poste),  
1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1991 (2<sup>e</sup> poste)  
ou date à convenir.

Les dossiers de candidatures doivent être adressés avant le 31 JANVIER 1990 au secrétariat de la Faculté des lettres, rue de Candolle 3, 1211 Genève 4 (Suisse) où peuvent être obtenus des renseignements complémentaires sur le cahier des charges et les conditions.

## VACANCY

A massive Industrial and Trading Company in the Eastern Province of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is looking for a

### (GENERAL MANAGER)

A highly qualified with Master Degree - or Doctor or equivalent with excellent background of at least 10 (ten) years experience in management of chemical and industrial gases fields. Speaks fluent English and writes perfectly. Preferably spoken Arabic for non Arabs too.

Applications should be addressed to:

\* Either:  
Post Office Box No 895 Dammam 31421, K.S.A.

\* Or:  
Post Office Box No 30001 Yanbu Industrial City - K.S.A.

\* Along with the below supported documents:  
\* Recent photo of applicant  
\* A copy of qualification and experience certificates  
\* A resume of applicant

All applicants should send their applications within fifteen days from date of publishing this advertisement. Company will not consider applications which will be sent before or after dates.



















NMB brings to the merger with Postbank a strong position in the business market, in Holland and abroad.

# BANK

Postbank brings a substantial customer base, a very strong financial base, and expertise in home banking.

# BANK

In Holland, they now have a range of services spanning every aspect of Dutch banking.

# BANK

Outside Holland, they now have the financial resources to become a major force in Europe. And beyond.

## NMB POSTBANK GROUP

In the largest merger in Dutch banking history, NMB Bank and Postbank joined forces on October 4th.

The newly formed NMB Postbank Group is now a market leader in Holland, with a combined range of services which covers every aspect of Dutch banking.

In Holland, each will continue to operate under its own name, developing its particular strengths for existing customers.

Each will also benefit from considerable new opportunities to launch new products for their respective customer bases.

By joining forces, however, the NMB Postbank Group has

considerably strengthened its position to compete, both in Holland and internationally.

With assets of US \$74 billion, the Group is now one of the top 25 banks in Europe, and is well positioned to help customers benefit from the exciting opportunities created by the emerging unified European market.

With a growing international presence through 41 offices around the world, the Group can now accelerate the development of its services.

Currently, it provides trade and commodity finance, project

finance and investment banking services in many of the world's major financial markets, and specialises in LDC asset trading and debt conversion.

Now, as one of the top fifty banks in the world, the NMB Postbank Group can build even further on all these strengths to become a substantial force in Europe—and beyond.

**BORN IN HOLLAND. BRED FOR THE WORLD.**

NMB Postbank Group, PO Box 1800, 1000 BV Amsterdam, Holland.

This is not an offer of shares in any company. This advertisement is issued by NMB Postbank Group N.V. ("NMB Postbank") and its contents, which have been prepared by and are the sole responsibility of NMB Postbank have been approved by S.G. Warburg Securities, financial adviser to NMB Postbank and a member of The Securities Association. Shares may go down as well as up and shares denominated in Dutch Guilders may also go down as well as up in Sterling terms, depending on the Sterling/Guilder rate of exchange. Shares in NMB Postbank may be difficult to sell other than on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange and the Belgian and Swiss Stock Exchanges on which they are listed. No shares in any member of the NMB Postbank group have been or will be registered under the U.S. securities laws and accordingly such shares may not be publicly offered or sold in the U.S. or to U.S. persons.



## Bush May Nominate Treasury Aide for Fed

**The Associated Press**  
WASHINGTON — President George Bush plans to nominate David W. Mullins Jr., assistant Treasury secretary, to fill a vacancy on the Federal Reserve Board, an administration source said Wednesday.

Mr. Mullins, 43, one of the chief architects of the administration's bailout bill for the savings and loan industry, has served in his current position since October 1988. Before that he taught at the Harvard Business School.

He was also the No. 2 staff member on the task force named by the former President Ronald Reagan to study the October 1987 stock market collapse.

At the Fed, Mr. Mullins would succeed H. Robert Heller, who resigned from the seven-member board in June to become executive vice president of Visa International, the credit card company. The term of the vacancy runs to Jan. 31, 1990.

Because of Mr. Mullins' long association with Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, who headed the stock market collapse task force, the appointment is seen as giving the administration a greater voice in monetary policy. He would be Mr. Bush's first appointment to the board. Mr. Reagan named the other six members.

In recent months, the Fed has been somewhat at odds with administration, which has favored lower interest rates and more aggressive efforts to improve the U.S. trade situation.

Mr. Mullins has little professional background in broad economic and monetary policymaking, but he is highly regarded as an expert on U.S. financial markets and the banking system.

He received an undergraduate degree from Yale University and graduate degrees from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He grew up in Fayetteville, Arkansas, where his father was president of the University of Arkansas.

## Developing Nations Warned on Energy Policies

By Reginald Dale  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The developing world will face severe power shortages in coming years if governments do not drastically reorganize their energy industries and promote private enterprise, a group of international experts said Wednesday.

"Unless they radically change the way they do business," Third World countries will be unable to raise the \$100 billion a year they want to spend in the 1990s to increase electricity supplies, said Anthony A. Churchill, director of the Industry and Energy Department at the World Bank.

The developing countries, which currently waste about 30 percent of their energy output, must greatly improve efficiency, charge economically realistic prices and open up public power monopolies to private competition, Mr. Churchill and other experts said.

The officials, who were attending an annual meeting in Paris of the Energy Sector Management Assistance Program, or ESMAP, said similar policies should be followed in the East European countries.

The program, sponsored by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program and most major Western governments, is designed to identify the developing countries' most serious energy problems and propose solutions.

At relatively little cost, the developing countries could achieve energy efficiency gains of as much as 20 percent, while reducing the emission of so-called "greenhouse gases" that threaten to cause a significant warming of the world climate, according to an ESMAP report.

If 20 percent of commercial energy could be saved, total gross savings for developing countries would be about \$30 billion a year. That would represent about 60 percent of the net flow of resources out of developing countries for debt service in 1988, and about 67 percent of the official development assistance granted by Western and oil-producing countries in 1987.

A review of developing country power utilities showed increasing inefficiency over the past 20 years, with losses in the delivery of electricity often greater than 20 percent and sometimes approaching 50 percent.

"While some part of such losses represents theft and inadequacies in metering and billing," the report said, "it is clear that technical losses in networks are unacceptably high, and in many countries the thermal efficiency of electricity generation tends to be low."

But, Mr. Churchill said, it was almost impossible to make the developing world's current public power monopolies work efficiently. Most bad incentives for efficient operation, he said, and were "full of jobs for the boys."

The governments of developing countries have no choice but to relax their grip on power supplies for investments "won't be forthcoming," Mr. Churchill added.

Current plans call for \$1 trillion to be spent on expanding electricity generation in developing countries in the coming decade, or \$100 billion a year.

While some part of such losses represents theft and inadequacies in metering and billing, the report said, "it is clear that technical losses in networks are unacceptably high, and in many countries the thermal efficiency of electricity generation tends to be low."

But, Mr. Churchill said, it was almost impossible to make the developing world's current public power monopolies work efficiently. Most bad incentives for efficient operation, he said, and were "full of jobs for the boys."

The governments of developing countries have no choice but to relax their grip on power supplies for investments "won't be forthcoming," Mr. Churchill added.

Current plans call for \$1 trillion to be spent on expanding electricity generation in developing countries in the coming decade, or \$100 billion a year.

Bilateral and multilateral aid programs are likely to provide only about \$15 billion to \$17 billion a year, according to ESMAP officials. This means that the countries themselves would have to raise \$80

## Investor's Europe

Frankfurt Commerzbank	London F.T. 100 Index	Paris C.A.C. 40
1989	1989	1989
Exchange	Index	Wed. Close
Amsterdam	CBS General	182.70
Brussels	Stock Index	6562.73
Frankfurt	Commerzbank	N.A.
Frankfurt	DAX	1562.27
Helsinki	UNITAS	600.30
London	Financial Times 30	1781.70
London	FT-SE 100	2255.60
Madrid	General Index	304.56
Milan	MIIB	1125
Paris	CAC 40	1872.30
Stockholm	Affaersvaerden	1082.10
Zurich	SBS	660.90
		Prev. Close
		% Change
		-0.27
		-0.04
		-
		+0.76
		+1.68
		+0.76
		+0.61
		-0.36
		+0.09
		-0.64
		+1.46
		+0.52

Source: Datastream, AFP

International Herald Tribune

## Spending Cuts Could Alter Armaments Business

By Richard W. Stevenson  
New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Spending cuts being contemplated by the Pentagon for the 1990s could bring profound changes in the weapons business.

The cuts could reshape an industry in which the Pentagon and Congress have historically kept open certain weapons factories and laboratories even when they were no longer needed, simply to preserve jobs and hedge against any future war.

Instead, some contractors now face years of shrinking profits and a growing likelihood of being forced out of businesses like airplane making and shipbuilding, where the military's reduced needs could be met by fewer companies.

Analysts, government officials and industry executives also say that some of the biggest contractors would pursue a host of survival strategies, including taking on more work historically done by subcontractors or deliberately underbidding on programs just to keep engineers and production lines busy until the day, if it comes, that the arms business turns up again.

A few could become takeover targets as Wall Street drives down their stock prices. Some could explore diversification, more heavily into nonmilitary fields.

"Our biggest task is the restructuring of the defense industrial base," said Robert B. Costello, a former undersecretary of defense for acquisitions who is now with

the Hudson Institute, a research organization.

A Pentagon outback would be "a catalyst that will focus attention on the issue and allow us to put together concise, coherent policies to best use our capabilities for the benefit of the nation."

Many observers say widespread spending cuts would also result in

**The cuts could reshape an industry in which the Pentagon and Congress have kept open certain weapons factories and laboratories simply to preserve jobs and hedge against any future war.**

increased calls for the government to take a more active, if yet undefined, role in making sure that companies vital to national security are not forced out of business, that important personnel and vital technologies find a home and that research projects in promising fields continue to be financed.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has asked the armed forces to formulate budgets that would allow a decline in Pentagon spending for the 1991 fiscal year and cuts totaling as much as \$180 billion over the three years beginning in 1992, which represents an annual drop averaging 5 percent after accounting for inflation.

His request reflected warming relations with the Soviet Union, the

political changes in Eastern Europe and the pressure to bring down the budget deficit.

The administration had previously proposed increases of 1 or 2 percent after inflation over those years.

"In the 1990s, we are finally going to have to face the issue of what kind of defense industry we want,"

said Thomas L. McNaughton, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

The weapons industry has been headed toward leaner times since President Ronald Reagan's arms build-up peaked in 1986, although most companies have managed to muddle along for the last few years, finishing out programs started earlier in the decade.

Even now, few companies have taken radical steps to cope with the likelihood of rapidly declining Pentagon spending, saying it is too soon to predict what impact any budget cuts will have on their programs.

Some industry executives say their companies will do just fine without any big strategic changes.

"This is something we've been anticipating for a long time," said David Wheaton, corporate vice president for program development and planning at the General Dynamics Corp.

The cuts would still hurt though. Smaller Pentagon budgets would put the most pressure on the builders of expensive aircraft and ships.

Further cuts could hasten the demise of Grumman Corp. on Long Island, New York, as a leading aircraft producer, analysts said. Other companies, such as Lockheed Corp., would also face struggles to keep producing planes.

There would be some winners as well as losers.

Because the armed services would not be able to afford new planes and ships, they would probably turn more frequently to makers of some sophisticated electronics systems that could upgrade and modernize their existing fleets.

Most big contractors have expanded their electronics businesses in recent years, especially those such as Lockheed and Rockwell International Corp. that have seen rapid declines in their aircraft business.

Similarly, makers of satellites and other surveillance equipment are expected to do well in the civilian sector. Wall Street has particularly high hopes for a company in Dallas called E-Systems Inc. that makes surveillance gear used for arms control verification.

## OPEC Pact Is Expected To Cut Quota Cheating

The Associated Press

VIENNA — OPEC's latest production deal should help slow a decline in oil prices in the first half of 1990 by partially succeeding in reducing cheating on quotas by the cartel's 13 members, analysts said.

Oil ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries on Tuesday signed a pact under which their daily production ceiling will rise to 22 million barrels from 20.5 million barrels in the current quarter.

The group's \$18-a-barrel target becomes a "minimum reference price." The producers' output is actually up to 23.5 million barrels per day, and the new accord should bring it down, analysts said.

That means prices for North Sea Brent Blend, for example, likely will drop to \$17 a barrel instead of \$16 a barrel in the spring, when demand for oil usually slackens.

The spot price of North Sea Brent Blend, the most widely traded international crude oil, was \$18.15 a barrel Wednesday morning, down from \$18.34 late Tuesday.

OPEC's price of crude oil stood at \$17.74 a barrel, said the cartel's secretary-general, Subroto. "We feel that if it deviates too much from the minimum reference price, then we will meet," Mr. Subroto said at a news conference.

member monitoring committee plans to meet in March "in order to assess the market," the ministers said in a communiqué.

Leading oil ministers were upbeat about the pact. Hisham Nazer, Saudi Arabia's oil minister, said that prices "will steadily go up after the market ascertains the durability of the agreement. There is more discipline now, there is more commitment to the quota and the production ceiling."

The deal should cut production by up to 1.3 million barrels a day, he said.

Ferns McLeod, an oil analyst with the London investment firm Barclays de Zoete Wedd Ltd., agreed. "It looks better than most people thought was possible."

The ministers came up with a partial solution to demands from Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates for bigger portions of the production.

Kuwait agreed to a quota of 1.5 million barrels a day, up from its previous quota of 1.15 million barrels a day, but below its current output of 2 million barrels a day.

The United Arab Emirates officially agreed to a steady daily quota of 1.095 million barrels.

## GROWTH: Mixed Signals in U.S.

(Continued from first finance page)

firmed that inflation during the July-September quarter rose at an annual rate of 2.9 percent as measured by the department on a fixed weight basis, the lowest quarterly rate since the third quarter of 1986.

The inflation rate was held down during the third quarter by sharply lower energy costs that offset higher costs in the second quarter, when the inflation rate was 5 percent.

Using its implicit price deflator, the department revised up its inflation estimate to a 3.2 percent rate for the quarter. Under that measure, inflation climbed at a 4.6 percent rate in the second quarter.

The GNP report indicates that real personal consumption rose at a sharp 6.2 percent clip in the third quarter. This reflected a surge in car buying prompted by sales incentives that helped pushed expenditures for durable goods up 13.2 percent.

The automobile sector has seen a big decline in sales so far in the fourth quarter, leading many economists to say that that key section of the manufacturing base is in a recession.

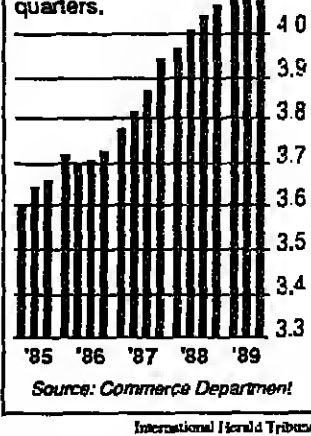
One piece of good news in the report was a downward revision in the build-up of inventories during the quarter from a sharp increase of \$30.2 billion to a more moderate \$21.2 billion.

**Food Price Rises**

U.S. retail food prices should rise 3 percent to 5 percent in 1990, down from 1989's brisk 6.3 percent

## Steady Growth

Gross national product in trillions of 1982 dollars, seasonally adjusted by quarters.



Source: Commerce Department

International Herald Tribune

## In U.S., Teaching the Soviet Way of Management

By Steve Mufson  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — If the end of history is near, can social scientists and business consultants be far behind?

The theory propounded by the State Department analyst Francis Fukuyama that changes in the communist world presaged an end to history might be bad news for future historians. But the new era may prove to be a boom to Soviet business scholars, consultants and managers eager to make good on the next millennium. Mark A. Tur-evski, for example, is flinging a video training program for Soviet managers and American businessmen.

"Seeing is believing," says a faint photocopy of a promotional letter he carries around. Though a far cry from slick Madison Avenue style, the letter makes its pitch by urging American businessmen to view "a typical negotiating style of Soviet businessmen in action. You do not have to leave New York or Detroit, Los Angeles or Dallas to have a unique experience of learning about Soviet executives."

Mr. Tur-evski, a Soviet citizen now visiting the United States, bills himself as an "expert" with Inform, a Moscow consulting group that hopes to help Soviets and Americans overcome differences in management styles. He said he has video-taped American businessmen and Soviet enterprise managers and ministry officials acting out approaches to problems and negotiations.

Mr. Tur-evski said most Americans interested in doing business in the Soviet Union failed to reach agreements because of differences in approaches to talks.

"Soviet officials regard Americans' negotiating style like that of cowboys," he said. "Before they put any questions, they shoot. If no, so then forget it."

He said that Soviet officials "have to approach a question, consider a question, then agree."

He said in the United States, the seller adjusts to the needs of the buyer. But shortages in the Soviet Union put sellers in positions to dictate conditions.

Other Soviet academics and managers recently visited the United States as part of an exchange program at Wake Forest University. For three weeks, they studied marketing and organizational behavior.

There were some awkward moments, the Soviets said. The manager of a Kroger supermarket asked how many kinds of cabbage they had in Moscow. One of the Soviet visitors, Alexander Kuritsin, replied "fewer, but we have the Bolshoi ballet."

Coming from a land of shortages, the Soviets said the most bewildering part of their U.S. foray was an exercise in which they tasted three bottles of mineral water, analyzed the design of the bottle, the taste of the water and tried to predict future demand. They worked with focus groups and reviewed market surveys.

The exercise had little to do with working within the Soviet Union, they said.

"What kind of marketing can we have if there are shortages?" asked Mr. Kuritsin, a business professor at the Moscow State Institute of Foreign Relations and an Inform consultant.

Alexander Druzhkov, assistant to the minister of building materials production in the Russian republic, said that his ministry did not consider consumer preferences much.

Mr. Druzhkov was more interested in how American companies cope with paperwork. "What I do is process paperwork," he said.

Mr. Druzhkov's entire ministry has only a handful of computers, two large Canon copiers, and three small copiers. Just to copy a document, he said, takes 20 to 30 minutes and requires a walk of "some distance."

Mr. Kuritsin, who makes as much money consulting for the fledgling Inform as he does from his academic job, wants to set up a management center in New York that would serve American firms interested in establishing joint ventures in the Soviet Union.

Both are convinced that if the Russians can establish a foothold in the United States for trade, then their days of foreign exchange shortages and consumer good shortages could become history.

### ESCORTS & GUIDES

#### INTERNATIONAL ESCORT SERVICE

Head office in New York  
330 W 56 St NYC 10019  
212-745-7896  
MAJOR CREDIT CARDS AND CHECKS ACCEPTED

#### MERCEDES

VIP ESCORT AGENCY  
9 AM TILL MIDNIGHT - 7 DAYS  
MAJOR CREDIT CARDS ACCEPTED  
TEL LONDON  
011 351 6644

#### AT YOUR SERVICE

VIP ESCORT AGENCY LONDON  
581 2811, 8AM-MIDNIGHT

#### LONDON

KENSINGTON  
ESCORT SERVICE  
10A Kensington Church St, W8  
Tel: 027 6134 or 027 6123  
All major credit cards accepted.

#### LONDON

Portman Escort Agency  
87 Oldham St  
Tel: 486 3794 or 486 7158  
All major credit cards accepted

NEW TOP LUXURY ELITE ESCORT  
FRENCH, ITALIAN, AUSTRIAN  
UPPER CLASS MODELS, SERVICE  
LONDON BELLEVUE 301 269

### INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

(Continued From Back Page)

#### ESCORTS & GUIDES

##### ARISTOCATS

London Escort Service  
3 Shortland Street, London W1  
All major credit cards accepted  
Tel: 01-258 0000 (3 LINES)  
12 noon - midnight

#### ULTIMATE '10'

212-688-1741  
NEW YORK ESCORT SERVICE

#### MADRID

Glamour Escort Service. Tel: 299 70 02

#### MAYFAIR CLUB

ESCORT SERVICE  
NOTTINGHAM (01) 10-454155  
THE HAGUE (01) 70-409906

#### MADRID SHADOWS

Escort Service  
Telephone: 341-262993

GENEVA TIFFANY  
V.I.P. ESCORT SERVICE  
3 pm - 12 am, 16 Rue Cappe  
2nd floor Apt. 23

#### ESCORTS & GUIDES

##### MADRID MEDEA

\*\*\*\*\*  
Escort Service  
Tel: 341-2560251

##### GENEVA MELODE

ESCORT SERVICE Tel: 022 46 11 55

##### PRISTINE ESCORTS/NYC

212-784-1948/784-1949

##### CHILESA ESCORT SERVICE

51 Beachchamps Place, London SW2  
Tel: 01-384 6515 Established 18 years.

##### CAPRICE-NYC

ESCORT SERVICE 212-737-4291

\*\*\*\*\*ZURICH\*\*  
Caroline Escort Service 01/252 6174

\*\*\*\*\*ZURICH\*\*  
Top Escort Service Tel: 01/41 76 09

MUNICH \* 91 23 14 \*  
The Friendly Escort Service

\*GENEVA GINGER'S\*  
ESCORT SERVICE 022/738 63 24

LONDON ESCORT SERVICE  
Tel: 01-287-7721

#### ESCORTS & GUIDES

##### MADRID IMPACT ESCORT and Guide Service

Madrid, Valencia, Vigo, Open 11am - midnight. Tel: 351 4141

##### AMSTERDAM APOLLO CLUB

Escort Service, 24 Amsterdam, Amsterd. Tel: 020 766176 from 3 pm

##### TOKYO VIP PRIVATE

\*\*\*\*\*  
Escort Service  
Tel: 03 384-9407

##### GENEVA FAVOURITE ESCORT

and Guide Service. Tel: 022 737 46  
Tel: 022/737 46

##### MILAN & LUGANO EXCLUSIVE

\*\*\*\*\*  
International Escort Service. Tel: 09-2 887472

MILAN VIP Escort Service (2) 461 125

\*\*\*\*\* MADRID \*\*\* CHRISTIE \*\*\*

Guide Service. Telephone: (01) 571 32 62

NEW IN BUSINESS 1 BACCARA II

International VIP First Class Escort Service. All credit cards, 02/23/49/04

#### ESCORTS & GUIDES

##### AMSTERDAM APOLLO CLUB

Escort Service, 24 Amsterdam, Amsterd. Tel: 020 766176 from 3 pm

##### TOKYO VIP PRIVATE

\*\*\*\*\*  
Escort Service  
Tel: 03 384-9407

##### GENEVA FAVOURITE ESCORT

and Guide Service. Tel: 022 737 46  
Tel: 022/737 46

##### MILAN & LUGANO EXCLUSIVE

\*\*\*\*\*  
International Escort Service. Tel: 09-2 887472











## SPORTS

A's Sign Henderson  
In \$12 Million DealBy Michael Martinez  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Baseball's spiraling salary structure has reached a new plateau, with Rickey Henderson agreeing to a four-year contract with the Oakland Athletics worth \$12 million.

Henderson, who helped Oakland win the American League pennant playoff in five games from the Toronto Blue Jays and sweep the San Francisco Giants in four games in the World Series, will get a \$1 million signing bonus and salaries of \$2 million next year and \$3 million in each of the next three seasons.

The contract, agreed to Tuesday, surpasses the deal given to Kirby Puckett by the Minnesota Twins, who signed their center fielder Nov. 22 to a three-year deal worth \$9 million.

Henderson, who will turn 31 on Dec. 25, also becomes the first player to get a four-year guaranteed contract since the Atlanta Braves signed Ken Oberkfell to one in 1985.

"There is no question that this contract will make Rickey the highest-paid player and guarantee him the most money ever paid in the game," Richie Bry, Henderson's

agent, said from Oakland. "It definitely has a few features in it that haven't been seen before, or at least not in a very long time."

Under the terms of the deal, Henderson received a no-trade provision, plus yearly bonuses of \$100,000 if he wins the league's most valuable player award and \$30,000 if he is named the league championship series or the World Series.

He will also be able to defer as much as \$2 million a year with 8 percent interest.

Another part of the contract calls for him to make charitable contributions each year totaling \$50,000.

Henderson had said he preferred to remain in Oakland, where he spent his youth. Although a number of teams — among them the New York Yankees, who had traded Henderson to the A's on June 21 — had expressed an interest in signing the free agent left fielder, Bry said the A's had the first opportunity.

Henderson earned \$2.12 million last season in the final year of a five-year contract he signed with the Yankees after being traded to them by the A's in December of 1984.



Henderson: Now highest paid.

The Yankees, aware that he could leave at the end of the season, sent Henderson back to the A's for two pitchers, Greg Cadaret and Eric Plunk, and an outfielder, Luis Polonia.

With the A's, for whom he played from 1979 to 1984, Henderson batted .294 and stole 52 bases in 94 games.

With 871 stolen bases, Henderson needs only 68 to pass Lou Brock and become the career leader.

Henderson was named the outstanding player in the American League playoff against Toronto, batting .400 with 2 home runs, 5 runs batted in and 8 stolen bases. Against the Giants, he hit .474 with a home run and three steals.

Bird Is Getting  
Mixed Reviews  
On ComebackBy Sam Goldaper  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The news of Larry Bird's return was trumpeted in every National Basketball Association city and beyond in the days leading up to the start of the 1989-90 season.

Given Bird's ability to make teammates better and his almost fanatical work ethic, it was assumed that with his return from heel surgery, the Boston Celtics would resume their old form.

In the nine seasons before 1988-89, they won at least 60 of 82 games six times. Three other times they won at least 50.

But that does not appear to be happening. Going into Wednesday night's game against the New Jersey Nets, the Celtics' record was 7-7, identical to their mark at the same point last season.

They are 1-6 on the road, so Bird's return has apparently done little to improve the Celtics' tendency to fall when away from Boston Garden. Last season, they were 10-31 away from home.

With Bird sidelined for 76 games last season after his injury, the Celtics (42-40 over all) clinched the eighth and final Eastern Conference playoff berth on the last day of the season, then were swept in the opening round of the playoffs by the Detroit Pistons. Their season and road record were their worst since 1978-79, the season before Bird joined the team.

Bird's numbers this season appear good, especially considering his long layoff. After 14 games, he is averaging 21.9 points, 4.9 fewer than his career average. Although he is shooting 43 percent on the road, poor for him, his 47 percent over all is equal to his career mark.

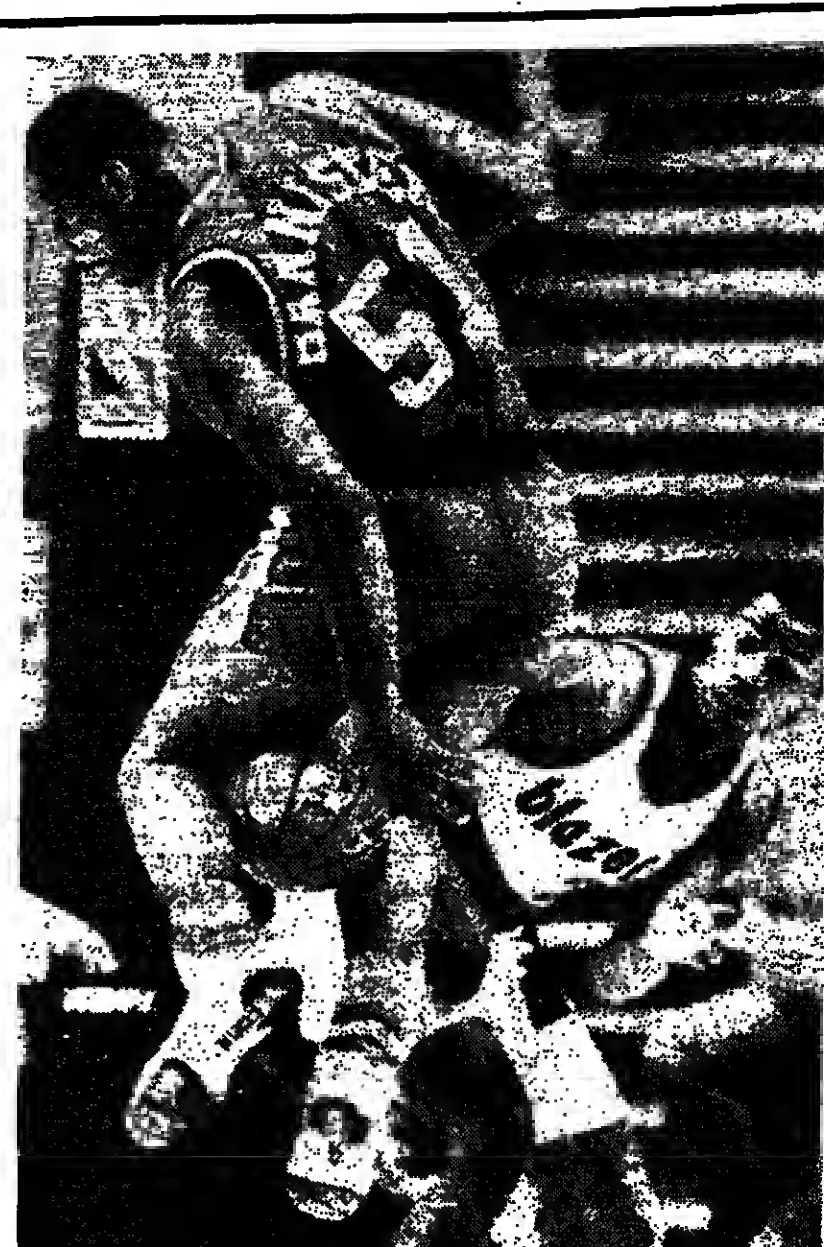
But in recent days, general managers, coaches and players around the league have expressed mixed judgments of Bird this season.

Some measure his progress by his 50-point performance on Nov. 10 against the Atlanta Hawks. Others cite as promising signs Bird's turnaround jumper over Scottie Pippen of the Chicago Bulls on Nov. 4 with three seconds remaining, which gave the Celtics their only road victory so far, or his last-second basket that beat the Philadelphia 76ers on Nov. 14.

"From what I saw against us," Chuck Daly, the Pistons' coach, said, "there were periods when Bird looked lost and completely out of sync on the floor. Yet he still hit us for 22 points."

Bird, a 41 percent shooter from three-point range in the 1987-88 season, is struggling from there this season at 4 for 18 (22 percent). So are the Celtics, who are 6 for 42 (14 percent).

Bird, who has averaged 20 shots a game in his professional career, uncharacteristically took only 11 shots against the 76ers, 9 against the Minnesota Timberwolves and 13 against the Nets in games this month. In 37 minutes playing during a 108-100 loss to the Hawks on Saturday night, he took only 7 shots and scored 12 points.



## He'd Never Seen a Jam Like That Before

The Portland Trail Blazers' Cliff Robinson watched in amazement as Ken Bunnister of the Los Angeles Clippers got the ball stuck between his legs while going for a layup. The Clippers remained stuck, losing by the score of 116-94 on Tuesday night.

"Hey, every time I get the ball I feel I can score," he said later. "But I'll do what's best for the team."

Bird, 32, is said to be unhappy with the coach, Jimmy Rodgers, who is trying to promote more ball movement in the Celtics' offense.

"I'm just going out and doing what the coaches say," Bird said recently. "If they don't call my play, I'm supposed to work the ball around the perimeter."

When has Bird ever needed a play called before he shoots?

"No one has ever been told not to shoot," Rodgers said.

The Celtics' lackluster start probably has less to do with Bird than with the team's patched-together back court.

With Brian Shaw in Italy and Danny Ainge shooting three-pointers for the Sacramento Kings, the Celtics are hurting when they put the ball in the hands of Kevin Upshaw, Charles Smith and Kevin Gamble. None of those three guards are really ready to start in the NBA.

## SIDELINES

12 Challengers Insist  
On '92 America's Cup

PERTH, Australia (AP) — The America's Cup must be contested in 1992, the 12 challenging nations for yachting's most prestigious trophy decided Wednesday.

Terry Palmer, commodore of the Royal Perth Yacht Club, the challenger of record, said it had been resolved that the cup would definitely be sailed in either Auckland, New Zealand or in San Diego.

The venue depends on the result of the court battle between the San Diego Yacht Club and the Mercury Bay Yacht Club of New Zealand. Representatives of 12 challenging nations meeting in Perth also decided that their \$25,000-dollar deposits were now nonrefundable.

Baseball Owners Seek  
End to Hostile Talks

NEW YORK (NYT) — Representatives of baseball club owners have opened talks with the players' bargaining team calling for an end to the hostility that has long existed between them.

"They expressed a desire to find a way to end the hostility," Donald Fehr, the players' union chief, said Tuesday. "We expressed the countervailing feeling that we hope to become persuaded that that's what they mean. But that takes substance, not words. They know that."

The surprise departure of Barry Rona as chief negotiator for the owners, which a source said had been in the works for several weeks, clearly was linked to the tone the owners' representatives adopted at the start of talks for a collective bargaining agreement to replace the one that expires Dec. 31.

## For the Record

A full World Series share for the champion Oakland Athletics was worth a record \$114,252.11 and a share on the losing San Francisco Giants was worth \$108,664.88, the commissioner's office said Wednesday.

Sacramento officials said \$91.5 million in bonds Tuesday, with half of the money deposited in a bank to pay the Los Angeles Raiders or any other National Football League team \$50 million to move to California's capital.

Lawrence Taylor's sprained right ankle may prevent the New York Giants' All-Pro linebacker from playing Sunday against the Philadelphia Eagles, the team said. (NYT)

## FIFA Says England Won't Be Seeded

The Associated Press

ROME — England will not be one of the six seeded nations in the 1990 World Cup finals despite British government pleas that the team be isolated on the island of Sardinia, the head of the international soccer federation said Wednesday.

FIFA's president, Joël Havelange, said in an interview with Rome's sports daily Corriere dello Sport that defending champion Argentina, host Italy, three-time winner Brazil, West Germany, Belgium and Spain will be the seeded teams in the 24-nation event.

British officials had hoped that the English team would be seeded and assigned to the Sardinian city of Cagliari so that its fans, some of whom are notorious for their hooliganism, would be cut off from the Italian mainland.

Britain's sports minister, Colin Moynihan, is expected to meet with Italian World Cup organizers Sunday to press the case for assigning

England to Sardinia, even if England is not seeded.

The seeds will be formally decided and announced by FIFA on Dec. 7, two days before the draw for the finals.

Havelange said Argentina, West Germany and Belgium would be seeded on the basis of the 1986 World Cup results in Mexico, where Argentina won the title. West Germany finished second and Belgium was a semifinalist.

"Italy, as host country, and Brazil are also certain seeds, while Spain is going to take over for Mexico," he added.

Havelange said that assigning England to a certain site for security reasons "is something which must be dealt with by organizers and by Italian authorities."

The FIFA president also said that the 1998 edition of the World Cup most likely will be held in

France, and that the 2002 tournament may be held in China.

"I would like to live as long as to see the World Cup organized in China, which has a potential [soccer] market four times more interesting than the European one," Havelange said.

The United States will host the 1994 World Cup finals.

## Gullit Voted Best

Though limited by injuries to a handful of games in 1989, Ruud Gullit of the Netherlands and A.C. Milan club was named player of the year Wednesday (see Scoreboard) by a soccer magazine for the second time in three years. The Associated Press reported from London.

Gullit, a forward, won World Soccer's annual poll of readers in 1987 and was runner-up last year to Dutch compatriot and A.C. Milan teammate Marco Van Basten.

## BOOKS

THE VOICE OF THE CITY:  
Vaudeville and Popular Culture  
in New York

By Robert W. Snyder. 220 pages. \$19.95. Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Reviewed by Jonathan Yardley

It is the central argument of this modest but appealing book that vaudeville, the medium of popular entertainment that flourished from the late 19th century to the early 20th, had "as many voices as the city where it thrived" and that these voices, both individually and collectively, have much to tell us about urban American culture. As Robert W. Snyder puts it in his introduction:

"Vaudeville was slapstick clowns and devilish comedians who challenged old codes of propriety and gentility. It was sentimental songs about Broadway and the pain of unrequited love. It was elaborately tawdry productions that heralded the beginning of American musical theater. It was the children of slaves and immigrants, whose singing, dancing and music gave a new, multicultural meaning to American identity. And there were sour notes: the grasping entrepreneurs who squeezed their money out of performers' paychecks, the frustrations of artists who aimed for stardom but fell short, and the

ngly racial stereotypes that distorted the portrayal of black Americans."

There were vaudeville theaters and performers all over the country during the several decades of its heyday, but its heart was in New York and its essential character was a clear reflection of that city. When Snyder says that it was "the voice of the city" he is right; New York in those days was filled with ethnic, racial and economic groups struggling both to retain their distinctiveness and to blend into the larger American fabric, and vaudeville—in its heterogeneity and its uniformity, its irreverence and its conservatism—was a miniature of this process of conflict and amelioration.

It was, in Snyder's view, both a form of entertainment and an agent of acculturation. As to the former, it elevated the rowdy, boozey atmosphere of the "concert saloons" from which it arose while it injected pep and innocence into the sentimental middle-class music and theater with which it competed.

Quite apart from its larger implications, vaudeville was also a business enterprise, and for a time a large one that prefigured the vast entertainment industry of the present: it was run by managers, not entertainers. Snyder writes:

"Although vaudeville's creative roots lay largely in a world of tenements, immigrants and street-corner wise guys, the entrepreneurs' drive for a broad audience led performers to serve more and more communities. At virtually every step of their careers, vaudevillians chose

a mass audience over a local audience, a multi-ethnic audience over their own group, an interracial audience over an audience of one class."

Like Americans in all walks of life, vaudevillians had their eye on the big time, which for them was Times Square, "The Great White Way." So too did those on the other side of the presentment: Audiences may have been sitting in Bushwick, but their eyes were on Times Square. The big time was the standard by which all vaudeville was judged. Thus, we have an important element of vaudeville's legacy for American culture: it established the "big time," which soon enough became not Times Square but Hollywood—a variation on the American dream shaped to suit the age of mass culture.

By the 1930s vaudeville was dead, killed off by "revues, musical comedy, radio and, most important, motion picture," but, as Snyder correctly notes: "All of them explored fields, forms and themes first cultivated in vaudeville: The intimate appeal to a broad audience, opulent theaters for the masses, and the possibilities created by the collapse of older distinctions between high and low, rough and respectable." Even now, in television, vaudeville's influence is felt and seen; the medium may have changed, but the message, in many respects, is the same.

Jonathan Yardley is on the staff of The Washington Post.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

TWO experts probably thought that winning a world title in September was the high point of their year. But Kerri Shuman and Margie Gwozdzinsky, both of Manhattan, are having second thoughts. Two months after winning the world women's team title in Perth, Australia, as members of a U.S. team, they achieved an upset near-victory. They finished second in the prestigious Reisinger Board-a-Match Team Championships, playing in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with four other players from Manhattan, Jon Greenspan, Glenn Eisenstein, and Jill and Robert Blanchard. Gwozdzinsky's morale is strong, which was certainly as well on the diagrammed deal from the Reisinger. She opened one spade as North and jumped three spades on the next round, hoping to reach six spades. When her partner bid four diamonds and she doubled, she redoubled to show cood-round control. She, and her opponents, were astonished when the bidding ended. She kept a straight face when a spade was led and she put down her highly unsuitable dummy. Her partner, Eisenstein, had no trouble winning with the spade ace and drawing trumps, making an overtrick. That was an unusual way to score 920, thanks to a recent change in the duplicate laws: the bonus for making a redoubled contract is now 100 instead of 50. Notice that the defenders could have saved the overtrick by leading hearts and maneuvering a ruff in that suit. And no slam was makeable, although it takes a trump lead to defeat six hearts.

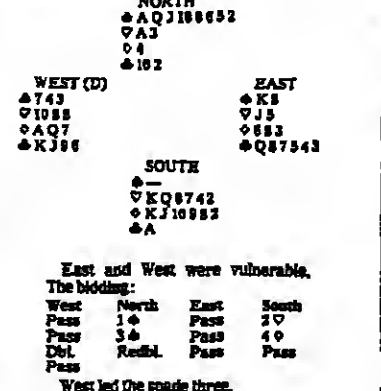
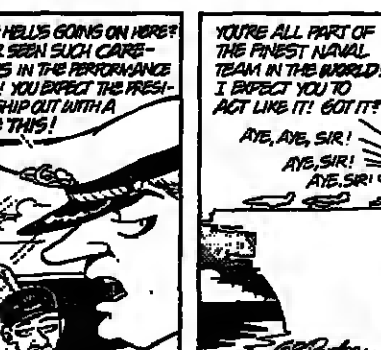
NORTH			
♠	AQJ108652	♥	K8
♦	Q4	♣	AK
♣	10	♠	QJ7
♠	AK	♥	AK
♥	QJ7	♣	Q87543
SOUTH			
♠	QK9742	♥	AK
♦	KJ10853	♣	AK
♣	A	♠	QJ7

East and West were vulnerable.  
The bidding:  
West North East South  
Pass 1 2 Pass 20  
Pass 3 4 Pass 40  
Pass Redbl. Pass Pass  
West led the spade three.

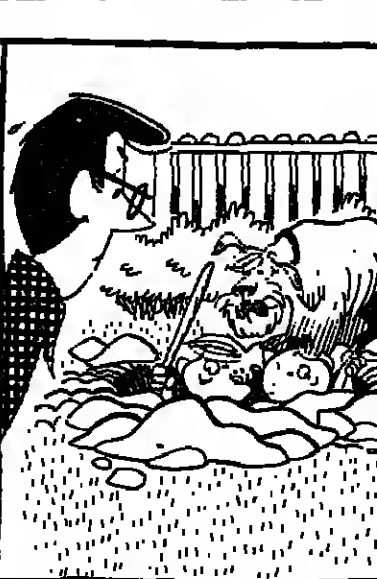
## DOONESBURY



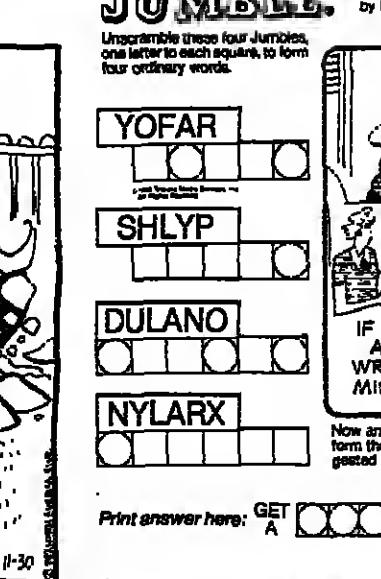
## JUMBLE



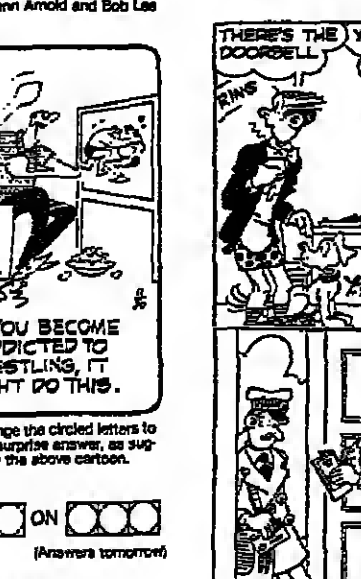
## DENNIS THE MENACE



## JUMBLE



## BLONDIE



## GARFIELD



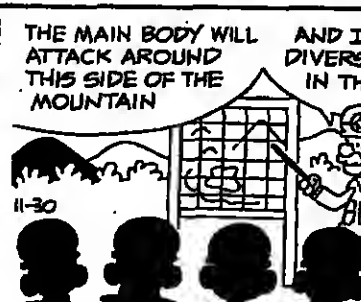
## PEANUTS



## BEETLE BAILEY



## ANDY CAPP



## WIZARD OF ID



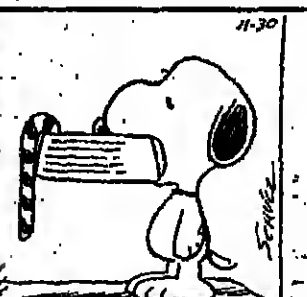
## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD



## PEANUTS



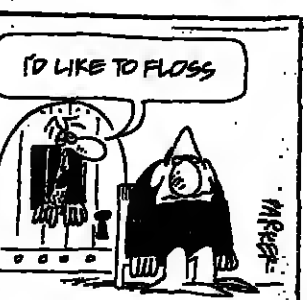
## BEETLE BAILEY



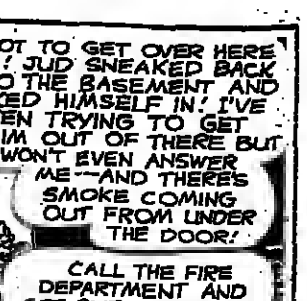
## ANDY CAPP



## WIZARD OF ID



## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD





## SPORTS

## Gym Star Comaneci Flees From Romania

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
BUDAPEST — Nadia Comaneci, the Romanian gymnast whose unprecedented perfect scores in the 1976 Olympics made sports history, has fled to Hungary, the Interior Ministry said Wednesday.

Comaneci, 28, and six other Romanians crossed the border without passports near the southeast Hungarian village of Mezony on Tuesday, according to a ministry spokesman, Andra Kovacs.

Comaneci reported to authorities in the southern city of Szeged and said she wanted to settle in Hungary, the state news agency MTI reported. But after checking out of the Hotel Royal there on Wednesday morning she disappeared from view.

MTI quoted a police officer in Szeged, which is 15 miles (24 kilometers) from the Romanian border, as saying she had gone to stay with acquaintances in Budapest, and there was another report that she had crossed into Austria.

The MTI report, which quoted Hungarian radio, said that Comaneci had crossed into Hungary by car before dawn Tuesday with six other Romanians, who were not identified.

"The seven were guided across the border by a Romanian man," MTI quoted a Hungarian border guard as saying.

The new agency first reported that Comaneci had applied for political asylum. But in a later dispatch it said she had applied only for a temporary settlement permit, valid for three days, at the police station in Szeged.

The report quoted her as saying she had left behind a "neatly furnished flat, a car and financial security for the sake of freedom."

Comaneci was quoted as saying she had been denied permission to work abroad as a coach or even travel, despite numerous offers and invitations. She has been planning a career as a coach and referee.

Comaneci's former coach, Bela Karolyi, now a gymnastics coach in the United States, said, "I'm happy finally she made the step which would lead to a free life, what she fully deserves."

Karolyi, who defected from Romania to the United States in 1981, was in Cluj, Switzerland, where he was coaching at a meet.

He said that he hoped his former pupil eventually would come to the United States, which "is still the country with the greatest respect for Nadia and at the same time a country still with the greatest opportunity."

He said that "just like me, she was chased out of the country by Romanian authorities."

Karolyi said he did not think Comaneci would stay in Hungary.

An employee of the local radio station in the Szeged said that Comaneci had checked into the Royal Hotel there, spent the night and left Wednesday morning. The radio station employee spoke on condition of anonymity.

An estimated 25,000 Romanians, most of them ethnic Hungarians, complaining of discrimination, have fled to Hungary in the past two years seeking refuge from chronic hardships under the regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Karolyi, an ethnic Hungarian, defected with his wife in March 1981 while on a tour of 15 American cities with the Romanian gymnastics team. He became a U.S. citizen last spring.

Comaneci's choreography coach in the early years, Geza Pozsar, also defected to the United States in 1981. Comaneci left competitive gymnastics that year, following the University Games, and became a coach.

An ethnic Romanian, Comaneci is listed by the Guinness Book of World Records as the first gymnast to receive a perfect score in a major international tournament. During her career, she won 21 gold medals, 12 in Olympic and world championship competition.

The Hungarian Olympic Committee pledged all possible help.

"I would give her moral or material support to help her begin a new life here," said its president, Pal Schmidt.

The committee had been inundated by offers to help Comaneci from private citizens, clubs and associations, he said.

Hungary granted political asylum this month to a Soviet citizen and a Bulgarian in what diplomats believe were the first examples of one Warsaw Pact country giving shelter to citizens from another.

Comaneci was discovered at age 6 by local coaches as she frolicked in a playground in her hometown of Onesti in northeastern Romania. Her father was an industrial worker and her mother a school janitor.

The 4-foot, 11-inch (1.49-meter) Comaneci shot to stardom at the 1975 European championships, where she won gold medals in all gymnastic disciplines except the floor exercises.

In Montreal, a year later, she became the first gymnast to obtain a perfect 10 score on her way to winning the prestigious all-around gold medal.

Seven times over five days of competition she was awarded maximum points, and walked off with a total of three golds.

Comaneci won a record three successive European championships and went on to win two more gold and two silver medals at the 1980 Moscow Olympics.



Comaneci, the first gymnast to be awarded a perfect score of 10, at a 1979 competition in London.

After the 1976 Games, she was named a Hero of Socialist Labor by her country, becoming the youngest Romanian to gain the honor. Her solemn face was constant

fare in Romanian newspapers, and Ceausescu, always eager to promote his nation's image, personally named the Hero of Socialist Labor medal on her at a state ceremony.

"Nadia, the Golden Girl of Romanian Sports, a Symbol of the Free Life of Our Youth," the national sports daily Sportul headlined at the time. (AP, Reuters, UPI)

## Agassi Sweeps Fashion Points But Few Others

By Robin Finn  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Andre Agassi, who doesn't mind attracting attention, made a spectacle of himself in his opening Masters match with his lava-pink bikini shorts and a long black fingernail.

The problem was that Agassi's tennis was not as striking as his outfit, and his inability to hold serve led to a 6-4, 6-2 victory for Stefan Edberg.

It was their first meeting in a tournament, although Edberg recalled being beaten by the American in all three encounter matches they had played.

"I learned something from that," said the Swede, who either stopped Agassi cold with his precise volleys or hung around the baseline waiting for the hard-hitting Agassi to bash his way into errors.

"He actually played under his standard today," Edberg said.

"He was all over me from the start," Agassi said. "There's nothing you can do when a person plays like that."

Agassi said a neck spasm that had plagued him overnight descended on him again midway through the first set, when he had already sacrificed his first two service games without salvaging a single point. Agassi said he had expected to withdraw from the match, took "seven or eight" aspirin and ultimately decided to play.

"But I looked like Frankenstein every time I tried to look to my right," said the player who appears more concerned than his seven competitors about looks.



Edberg's riposte at Madison Square Garden was a 6-4, 6-2 victory in their first meeting in a tournament.

His switch to the day-glo Lycra shorts topped by black denim was, he said, a matter of looks. That was also a major reason for his switching from his Prince racket to the flashy colors of his Donnay.

Agassi pronounced his playing status doubtful for his second match with Boris Becker, scheduled for Wednesday

night. Agassi, who tends to be blunt even at his own expense, undermined his chances against a healthy Becker. "I'd put my money on him," he said.

Edberg, a player who shuns the same kind of Agassi craves, paid no heed to Agassi's deck pain, which he didn't notice, or his apparel, which he did.

"I was just very concentrated and I did the job today," said Edberg, for whom this has been a season of omissions when he finished as a runner-up at both the French Open and Wimbledon.

Edberg merely grinned when asked if Agassi's plumage was distracting. "I don't usually look at a guy's nails," he said.

## Lendl and Becker Win First Matches

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Boris Becker and Ivan Lendl shook off ghosts of tournament past to post opening-round victories in the season-ending Masters tennis tournament.

Lendl, in making his first trip toward his 10th consecutive trip to the Masters final, Lendl gave his young foe a lesson in tennis strategy. He even came back from 0-40 to break Chang in the seventh game and close out the opening set.

Chang was a quick study, however. Several times he stepped inside the baseline and crushed Lendl's second serve. And he began the second set by breaking Lendl at love, the third point coming on a winning return off a second serve.

When Chang rifled a backhand down the line to the corner, forcing Lendl to sail a forehand long, Lendl said, "Nice shot." It was one of the rare times he needed to acknowledge his foe.

He raced through the first set, Theo, in the second, Chang, cheered by the crowd, played Lendl evenly. They exchanged service breaks in the first two games, then both held at love.

After they split the first six games, Lendl decided to call a halt to the proceedings. He lost only one point on his own serve, dropped another point as he broke Chang at 15, then served out the victory at 30.

Becker had lost four of his five meetings with Gilbert, this time it looked as if Gilbert would continue his hex over the reigning Wimbledon and U.S. Open champion before Becker, with the crowd cheering "Boris, Boris, Boris," battled his way to victory.

Becker was baffled by the off-speed shots of Gilbert, who seemed to get to every ball, keeping it in play with his slices and chips, then winning points on passing shots off both sides.

Neither was able to hold serve easily, but Becker began picking up more easy points on his serve and finding his range on passing shots while Gilbert began hitting into the net more frequently. There were two service breaks in the first set, four in the second and three in the third.

In the seventh game of the final set, the players' tensions showed. On one point, Gilbert hit a backhand down the line that was just wide. He rushed to the net, loudly complaining to the umpire.

Becker also rushed toward the net, shouting that the ball was out, and Gilbert yelled back, "Shut up!"

Fighting to decide in almost every game they held serve until the 10th, when Becker, on his second round point, finally ended the match on a forehand cross-court passing shot.

"I guess we don't like each other so much," Becker said. "I guess it's because we have had so many close matches, there is more emotion than is necessary. There's exchanges of words, not only in strokes."

Lendl took aim with his big serve, then powered forehands and backhands that repeatedly caught Chang on the wrong side of the court. It was an awesome display of tennis tempered with the discipline that allowed Lendl to constantly change speeds and, when need be, sneak to the net for winning volleys.

That's the kind of game you have to play against Michael," Lendl said. "You have to take chances. He can't hit short, so you're going to draw errors."

In making his first trip toward his 10th consecutive trip to the Masters final, Lendl gave his young foe a lesson in tennis strategy. He even came back from 0-40 to break Chang in the seventh game and close out the opening set.

Chang was a quick study, however. Several times he stepped inside the baseline and crushed Lendl's second serve. And he began the second set by breaking Lendl at love, the third point coming on a winning return off a second serve.

When Chang rifled a backhand down the line to the corner, forcing Lendl to sail a forehand long, Lendl said, "Nice shot." It was one of the rare times he needed to acknowledge his foe.

He raced through the first set, Theo, in the second, Chang, cheered by the crowd, played Lendl evenly. They exchanged service breaks in the first two games, then both held at love.

After they split the first six games, Lendl decided to call a halt to the proceedings. He lost only one point on his own serve, dropped another point as he broke Chang at 15, then served out the victory at 30.

Becker had lost four of his five meetings with Gilbert, this time it looked as if Gilbert would continue his hex over the reigning Wimbledon and U.S. Open champion before Becker, with the crowd cheering "Boris, Boris, Boris," battled his way to victory.

Becker was baffled by the off-speed shots of Gilbert, who seemed to get to every ball, keeping it in play with his slices and chips, then winning points on passing shots off both sides.

Neither was able to hold serve easily, but Becker began picking up more easy points on his serve and finding his range on passing shots while Gilbert began hitting into the net more frequently. There were two service breaks in the first set, four in the second and three in the third.

In the seventh game of the final set, the players' tensions showed. On one point, Gilbert hit a backhand down the line that was just wide. He rushed to the net, loudly complaining to the umpire.

Becker also rushed toward the net, shouting that the ball was out, and Gilbert yelled back, "Shut up!"

Fighting to decide in almost every game they held serve until the 10th, when Becker, on his second round point, finally ended the match on a forehand cross-court passing shot.

"I guess we don't like each other so much," Becker said. "I guess it's because we have had so many close matches, there is more emotion than is necessary. There's exchanges of words, not only in strokes."

Lendl took aim with his big serve, then powered forehands and backhands that repeatedly caught Chang on the wrong side of the court. It was an awesome display of tennis tempered with the discipline that allowed Lendl to constantly change speeds and, when need be, sneak to the net for winning volleys.

Neither was able to hold serve easily, but Becker began picking up more easy points on his serve and finding his range on passing shots while Gilbert began hitting into the net more frequently. There were two service breaks in the first set, four in the second and three in the third.

In the seventh game of the final set, the players' tensions showed. On one point, Gilbert hit a backhand down the line that was just wide. He rushed to the net, loudly complaining to the umpire.

Becker also rushed toward the net, shouting that the ball was out, and Gilbert yelled back, "Shut up!"

Fighting to decide in almost every game they held serve until the 10th, when Becker, on his second round point, finally ended the match on a forehand cross-court passing shot.

"I guess we don't like each other so much," Becker said. "I guess it's because we have had so many close matches, there is more emotion than is necessary. There's exchanges of words, not only in strokes."

Lendl took aim with his big serve, then powered forehands and backhands that repeatedly caught Chang on the wrong side of the court. It was an awesome display of tennis tempered with the discipline that allowed Lendl to constantly change speeds and, when need be, sneak to the net for winning volleys.

Neither was able to hold serve easily, but Becker began picking up more easy points on his serve and finding his range on passing shots while Gilbert began hitting into the net more frequently. There were two service breaks in the first set, four in the second and three in the third.

In the seventh game of the final set, the players' tensions showed. On one point, Gilbert hit a backhand down the line that was just wide. He rushed to the net, loudly complaining to the umpire.

Becker also rushed toward the net, shouting that the ball was out, and Gilbert yelled back, "Shut up!"

Fighting to decide in almost every game they held serve until the 10th, when Becker, on his second round point, finally ended the match on a forehand cross-court passing shot.

"I guess we don't like each other so much," Becker said. "I guess it's because we have had so many close matches, there is more emotion than is necessary. There's exchanges of words, not only in strokes."

Lendl took aim with his big serve, then powered forehands and backhands that repeatedly caught Chang on the wrong side of the court. It was an awesome display of tennis tempered with the discipline that allowed Lendl to constantly change speeds and, when need be, sneak to the net for winning volleys.

Neither was able to hold serve easily, but Becker began picking up more easy points on his serve and finding his range on passing shots while Gilbert began hitting into the net more frequently. There were two service breaks in the first set, four in the second and three in the third.

In the seventh game of the final set, the players' tensions showed. On one point, Gilbert hit a backhand down the line that was just wide. He rushed to the net, loudly complaining to the umpire.

Becker also rushed toward the net, shouting that the ball was out, and Gilbert yelled back, "Shut up!"

Fighting to decide in almost every game they held serve until the 10th, when Becker, on his second round point, finally ended the match on a forehand cross-court passing shot.

## SCOREBOARD

## FOOTBALL

## College Standings

Atlantic Coast Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Virginia	6	1	0	25	10	2	0	25	241	
Duke	5	1	0	253	171	4	0	230	266	
Clemson	5	2	0	205	191	3	0	241	121	
N.C. State	5	2	0	188	171	3	0	208	235	
Ge. Tech.	4	2	0	175	151	4	0	232	171	
Maryland	5	2	0	148	170	3	1	215	228	
Wake Forest	4	2	0	138	171	3	0	208	235	
N. Carolina	0	7	0	54	230	1	0	138	257	
Big Eight Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Colorado	7	0	0	229	87	11	0	402	150	
Nebraska	6	1	0	210	120	11	0	492	174	
Okla.	5	2	0	247	156	7	0	409	201	
W. Vir.	5	2	0	188	171	4	0	388	235	
Okla. St.	4	3	0	161	224	6	0	224	170	
Ill.	5	2	0	148	264	4	0	246	240	
Minnesota	4	3	0	161	224	4	0	246	240	
Kansas	0	7	0	54	254	1	0	138	257	
Big Sky Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Idaho	8	1	0	254	202	8	0	407	314	
Montana	7	1	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Utah	6	2	0	208	171	7	0	388	235	
Boise St.	5	3	0	194	175	4	0	261	245	
E. Wash.	4	4	0	176	175	4	0	261	245	
Idaho St.	4	3	0	161	224	4	0	246	240	
Nevada	2	6	0	177	272	3	0	231	328	
N. Ariz.	2	6	0	192	264	3	0	236	317	
Wyoming	1	7	0	101	286	1	0	138	301	
Big Ten Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Michigan	6	2	0	241	99	10	0	325	147	
Illinois	7	1	0	229	109	9	0	301	161	
Ohio St.	6	2	0	213	107	9	0	285	166	
Mich. St.	6	2	0	241	193	7	0	320	159	
Minnesota	4	4	0	193	207	5	0	263	263	
Indiana	3	5	0	130	263	4	0	246	240	
Wisconsin	2	5	0	120	193	5	0	267	278	
Purdue	2	6	0	129	193	3	0	192	281	
Wisconsin	1	7	0	133	260	2	0	172	256	
Northwestern	0	7	0	54	254	1	0	138	257	
Big West Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
San Diego St.	7	0	0	255	92	10	0	414	209	
Fresno St.	6	1	0	229	109	9	0	320	279	
San Jose St.	5	2	0	211	135	6	0	309	270	
Utah St.	5	2	0	199	146	4	0	191	265	
San Jose St.	4	3	0	188	171	4	0	261	245	
Long Beach	2	5	0	155	229	4	0	247	407	
Pacific	2	6	0	129	206	2	0	179	476	
N. Texas St.	1	6	0	101	286	1	0	145	428	
Coastal League										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Harvey C.	2	0	0	101	286	1	0	145	428	
Bucknell	2	2	0	103	147	5	0	253	260	
Colgate	2	2	0	128	131	5	0	219	249	
Lowell	1	6	0	101	286	1	0	145	428	
Chapin	1	2	0	112	124	3	0	176	262	
Orangeburg	0	7	0	54	254	1	0	138	257	
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	141	253	
Gateway Athletic Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
S.W. Mo.	5	1	0	187	104	10	0	249	241	
E. Illinois	4	2	0	127	91	9	0	229	123	
Ill. St.	4	2	0	127	91	9	0	229	123	
Ill. St.	4	2	0	110	105	5	0	196	240	
Ill. St.	4	2	0	99	122	4	0	172	220	
Ill. St.	1	5	0	46	135	4	0	222	240	
Ill. St.	1	5	0	46	135	4	0	222	240	
Ivy League										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Harvard	6	1	0	158	167	8	2	0	225	177
Princeton	5	2	0	154	139	5	0	207	257	
Yale	4	3	0	115	42	8	0	170	178	
Cornell	4	3	0	115	42	8	0	170	178	
Penn	2	5	0	107	172	4	0	171	229	
Columbia	2	5	0	134	156	2	0	170	265	
Brown	1	6	0	140	170	1	0	138	257	
Midwest Athletic Conference										
Conference					All-Americans					
W	L	T	Pts	Opp	W	L	T	Pts	Opp	
Ball St.	6	1	0	254	202	8	0	407	314	
E. Mich.	6	2	0	266	179	13	1	325	194	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0	235	124	10	0	417	319	
Cal. Mich. St.	5	2	0							



